ΠΟΡΦΥΡΑ

da un'idea di Nicola Bergamo

"Saranno come fiori che noi coglieremo nei prati per abbellire l'impero d'uno splendore incomparabile. Come specchio levigato di perfetta limpidezza, prezioso ornamento che noi collocheremo al centro del Palazzo"

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A Prôtospatharios, Magistros, and Strategos Autokrator of 11th cent. :

the equipment of Georgios Maniakes and his army according to the Skylitzes Matritensis miniatures and other artistic sources of the middle Byzantine period.

a cura di:

Dott. Raffaele D'Amato

At the beginning of the 11th century Byzantium was at the height of its glory. After the victorious conquests of the Emperor Basil II (976-1025), the East-Roman[1] Empire regained the sovereignty of the Eastern Mediterranean World and extended from the Armenian Mountains to the Italian Peninsula. Calabria, Puglia and Basilicata formed the South-Italian Provinces, called *Themata* of *Kalavria* and *Laghouvardhia* under the control of an High Imperial Officer, the *Katepano*. [2]But the Empire sought at one time to recover Sicily, held by Arab Egyptian Fatimids, who controlled the island by means of the cadet Dynasty of Kalbits.[3]

The *Prôtospatharios*[4] Georgios Maniakes was appointed in 1038 by the Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian *Katepano* of Italy, and with the title of *Strategos Autokrator* (commander in chief) led an army to reconquer the Island.[5] Maniakes was the most brilliant general of his time: in Syria he distinguished himself for his bravery and capacity against the Muslims, gaining for the Empire the important stronghold of Edessa in 1031.[6] Now it seemed to be the right moment for the reconquest

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[1] I personally prefer to call the Byzantines by their own name of *Rhomaioi* or Romans, being the term "Byzantine" an erroneous convention which should be rectified. The East Roman Empire continued in a direct and uninterrupted line from the still unified Empire of the 4th century, and its inhabitants called ever rightly themselves "Romans", either none of their contemporaries called them Byzantines, but ennemies and allies have always called them either Romans (see for ex. the arabic term *rhum* or the armenian word *horhoms*) or generally indicating them as Greeks, since the territories forming the kernel of Empire were from an ethnic point of view of greek-hellenistic or strongly hellenized population.

[2] On the *Catepanatus Italiae* and the reasons of its establishment cf. Vera Von Falkenhausen, *La Dominazione Bizantina nell'Italia Meridionale*, Bari 1978, pp. 46-59 ; on the administrative and military office of Κατεπανω cf. *Ibid*. 111-116 and 85-107 for the list of the Governors ; generally on the *Catepanatus* see also J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (876-1071*), Paris 1909, 343 ff. and A. Guillou, "Notes sur la société dans le Katépanat d'Italie au XIe siècle" in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* , London 1970, 440-444 and bibliography.

[3] On the accession of Kalbit Dinasty in Sicily under the Fatimid protectorate and its history see W.Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt in fruheren 11. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1981, 191ff. ; source in M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1937, 231-247 and 269-313 ; but cf. also a good summary on the Kalbits in Gabrieli-Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, Milano 1989, pp. 55-86. The first ruler was Hasan Al Kalbi, sent to Sicily by the Caliph of Mahdiyya in 947 to settle internal quarrels at the Palermitan Court following the death of the Fatimid Governor Salim Ibn Rashid.

[4] This military title means literally "First of the sword-bearers"and was a senior rank title in the East-Roman Empire. Third and highest rank of Imperial Guardsmen *Spatharioi*, this rank was a prerogative of men appointed to high offices at Court or in the Empire or holders of high-command powers. It was the eleventh title among the Imperial Dignities conferred to Eunuchs and not, following the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (N. Oikonomidès, "*La liste de préséance Byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*", Paris 1972, pp. 92 and 126). The dignity of Πρωτοσπαθαριος is attested for non-eunuchs, as Maniakes was, from 692-718 AD to the begin of 12th century. For the dignity cf. Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 297 and 300 for Eunuchs. For the military rank of Πρωτοσπαθαριος cf. J.Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians, an administrative, institutional and social survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580-900*, Bonn 1984, 182-190 with notes and bibliography ; for the figure of Πρωτοσπαθαριος in general s. R. Guilland, "Recherches sur les institutions byzantines" , in *BerlByzArb* 35 (1967) II, pp.99-131.

[5] John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum,* ed. M. Pinder and M. Böttner-Wobst, III, Bonn 1897, p. 592 ; I. Skylitzes (*Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Editio princeps, Rec. I. Thurn, CFHB 5, Berlin 1973) p. 398 = G. Kedrenos (*Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn, 1838-1839) II p. 514 ; Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, Fondazioni Lorenzo Valla, Milano 1984, VI, p. 370; on the problem if Maniakes was yet decorated, on this occasion, by the title of *Katepano* cf. Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione,* p. 95.

[6] Skylitzes, pp.381 ff. and 387 = Kedrenos p. 500 f. and 512 ; Aristakès de Lastivert, *Rècit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, Bruxelles, 1973, pp. 30-31. cf. also E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinisches Reiches von 363-1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen*, Berlin 1935, 134 f. Particularly famous was a stratagem used by Maniakes in 1029, when, besieged in his castle, he promised to hand over the Muslims his castle :

of Sicily : the Kalbit Amir Ahmad al-Akhal called for help the East-Romans against internal enemies supported by the african Zirid Dynasty.[7] Maniakes led a composite army : thematic regular troops from *Kalavria* and Katepanatos[8], Macedons[9], 500 Armenian infantrymen and 300 cavalrymen under the command of Katakalon Kekaumenos[10], including Paulician troops[11]. In addition to these there were Lombard troops[12] and 300-500 [13] Norman mercenary knights, led by the Lombard Ardouin[14] and by the brothers Drogon and William "Strong-arm", who were assigned to Maniakes by the Lombard Prince Guaimarius V of Salerno, vassal of the Empire[15]. Furthermore, a detachment of the best Guard regiment, the Varangian Guard, composed by Russians and Scandinavians, fought under his flag, led by the legendary Harald Sigurdson.[16] The campaign began under the

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but, after he made their commanders drunk, he took the enemy's camp by surprise capturing 280 camels and retaking a part of the war booty lost in battle by the Emperor Romanos III Argyros. The ears and noses of the slain were sent to the *Basileus* in Constantinople. Skylitzes, 381-382 = Kedrenos, p. 494.

[7] Skylitzes, 400-401 = Kedrenos, p. 516 ; cf. also Gabrieli-Scerrato, *Gli Arabi*, pp.85-86 and Felix, *Byzanz*, pp. 206-207 with bibliography and notes on arabic sources ; the Zirids, renomed for their corsair activity in South-Mediterranean and Aegean, succedeed in 972 the Fatimids in the Ifrìqiya after the conquest of Egypt by these latter; at the beginning they were vassal of the Fatimids but very soon they created an autonomous and rival dynasty, quarrelling about religious questions and contending with the Egyptians over control of Sicily and North-Africa.

[8] Skylitzes 398, where the title of *Strategos Autokrator* gave him the supreme authority upon the troops of both Themata and Katepanatos; Leo Ostiensis Marsicanus, *Chronica Casinensis Monasterii*, MGH Script. VII, 1846, p. 675, "*...cum Apuliae atque Calabriae milites...*" ; Amato di Montecassino, *Storia dei Normanni*, Roma 1935, p. 66 and n. 1 ; cf. also Felix, *Byzanz*, p. 208 n. 64 and Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, p. 74. The Thema of *Kalavria* also continued its existence after the constitution of *Katepanatos*, following the theory of Vera Von Falkenhausen, *La Dominazione*, pp. 50-51, about a formal separated administration of the two provinces and the identification of the most part of territoy of *Katepanatos* with the old *Thema* of *Longibardia*.

[9] *Annales Barenses,* MGH Scriptores, V 1846, p. 55 ; Guglielmo di Puglia, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, édition, traduction, commentaire et introduction par Mathieu, Palermo 1961, vv. 328-349 ; Skylitzes, 406 ff.. Besides the italic *stratiotai* there should fight also soldiers from Macedonian and Eastern Themes, as later - *Annales Barenses* of 1041 - we have a mention in Southern Italy of troops from *Opsikìon*, *Thrakesion* and *Anatolikòn*, while Skylitzes 426 records at the same time troops of the *tāghmata* of *Phoidheratoi* from Lycaonia and Pisidia = Kedrenos, p. 546, cf. A. Toynbee, *Constantino Porfirogenito ed il suo mondo*, Firenze 1987, p. 319. After the defeat of Montemaggiore, among the troops called from Sicily against the Normans were also "*miseri Macedones*", *Annales Barenses*, p. 55; so they should be Thematic troops, distinguished by the élite regiment of the *Phoidheratoi*.

[10] Mentioned by Skylitzes 406 f., 419 as πρωτοσπαταριος και του ταγματος αρχων των Αρμενιακων.

[11] Skylitzes, 406; *Annales Barenses*, p. 55, mentions too "*Paulikani et Calabrenses*" from Sicily. This is the "manichean Tagma" mentioned in successive sources : cf. A. Hohlweg, "Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen", in *Myscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 1, Munchen 1965, p. 64 n. 5 ; the Paulicians believed in two gods, one good and one evil, who struggled for mastery of the universe. Crushed by imperial troops in the 9th century, some of them were settled as military colonists in Thracia and Anatolia but employed in different occasion in the West too. Cf. Toynbee, *Costantino*, 421-422, 716-717 and 106-110.

[12] "*Plebs lombardorum*", Guglielmo di Puglia, v. 204.

[13] Skylitzes 425 = Kedrenos 545, speaks of 500 *Franks called from Gallia Transalpina*, but 300 is the number given by Amato, p. 67 and Leo Marsicanus, p. 675.

[14] Skylitzes, 425-426 = Kedrenos 545-546; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, a cura di A.Nallino, Catania 1933-1937, II, 448-450 ; he, who was later cruelly offended by Maniakes, was the real commander of the Normans, not the two brothers Drogon and William "Ironarm", sons of Tancred de Hauteville. Amato di Montecassino, p. 67 and n. 1 ;

[15] Gaufredus Malaterrae*, De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2, V, I, p. 9-16 ; Skylitzes, 425.

[16] *Annales Barenses*, p. 54 ; *Cecaumeni Strategikon et Incerti Scriptoris de Officiis Regis Libellus*, i.e. Kekaumenos, Λογος Ναυθετητικος, ed. B. Vasilievsky-V.Jernstedt, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 97 ; Harald's saga, in *Heimskringla or The Chronicle of the Kings of the Norway*, ed. B. Adalbjarnarson, Reykjavik 1941-1951, III ff. now available also in On-line Medieval Classical Library, see http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/OMACL/Heimskringla/hardrade1.html SunSITE

best auspices for the Roman Army : 13 cities of East-Sicily - among these Siracusa, Messina, Rometta - were conquered and fortified by Maniakes.[17] At Siracusa he found the remains of Saint Lucia, which he sent to Constantinople.[18] In 1040 the decisive battle took place, nearby Troina, where Maniakes defeated decisively the joint Arabian forces, under the command of Abd-Allah, the Kalif Kairuan'son[19].

The φθονος, i.e. envy, ruined the brilliant General : the Normans abandoned the Army considering themselves damaged by division of the spoils [20]; because of a quarrel with the Fleet Commander, Stephan, the Emperor's Brother in law, Maniakes was removed from the command; and accused of high treason, he was taken in fetters to Constantinople on donkey-back in the same year 1040. [21]

Maniakes would soon be released by the Emperor Michael V ; and returned to Italy as commander in chief of the Imperial troops in the Peninsula[22] ; after a viscious campaign against the Apulian rebels[23] he was recalled to Constantinople by slander[24]; and raised the rebellion flag, he was proclaimed himself Emperor and he will find death in 1043 on a battlefield in Macedonia[25].

The Sicilian conquests were briefly lost after Maniakes departure: but up to today the castle placed on the Ortigia promontory at Siracusa still brings his name[26], in order to

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Manager; the famous Harald Haardrade, future King of Norway who died in 1066 at the battle of Stamford Bridge, is recorded also in Islamic Sources : s. Amari, *Storia*, II, p. 380 ; Ostrogovsky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Munchen 1963-Torino 1968, p. 303. On the subject s. S. Blöndal, "The last Exploits of Harald Sigurdson in Greek Service ; a Chapter of the History of the Varangians", in *Classica and Medievalia*, 2, 1939, (3-7). For the military role played by the Varangians in this campaign see *Ibid*., *The Varangians of Byzantium*, Cambrigde University Press, London, 1978, pp. 67-71.

[17] Zonaras, p. 591 ; Skylitzes 403 = Kedrenos 520 ; cf. also Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milano 1982, p. 119.

[18] Amato, 68 ; Leo Marsicanus, 675 ; cf. also M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia Medioevale, rinascita e decadenza, sec. XI-XIV*, Roma 1947, p. 108.

[19] Amari, II, p. 389 ff. ; Skylitzes 405-406 = Kedrenos 522 ; for a brief description of the battle cf. Felix, *Byzanz*, p. 210 ; the authors are still divided among the true date of the battle, if i.e. it took place in spring or summer 1040. Zonaras pp. 592-593 tell us that "*a so big number of Africans died, that the number was countless*", and Skylitzes-Kedrenos mentions 50.000 killed among the Arabs.

[20] Amato, 72-73 and cf. notes for the different version of Anonymi Vaticani, *Historia Sicula*, col. 749, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VIII ; Skylitzes 425 = Kedrenos 545; Gaufredus Malaterrae, p. 10 ; cf. also Felix p. 210 n. 69.

[21] Maniakes blamed Stephanos for the flight of Abd-Allah ben al Mu-izz, beating him with a flail ; Skylitzes 407, 425 = Kedrenos, pp. 523, 545 ; Zonaras, p. 593 ; Michael Attaliates, *Historia*, Bonn 1853, pp. 18 ff.. ; cf. Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini,* p. 119.

[22] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, II Vol., Milano 1984, VI p. 78 ; Michael Attaliates, p. 11 ; Skylitzes 427 = Kedrenos 547 ; s. also Von Falkenhausen, *La Dominazione*, p. 60 and.95. In this occasion we are more informed about the dignity received by Maniakes : *Magistros*, *Protospatharios* and *Strategos Autokrator* - *Katepano tes Italias*.

[23] Guglielmo di Puglia, vv. 441-575; *Annales Barenses*, p. 56 ; Lupus Protospatharius, *MG Scriptores*, V, p. 58; Michael Attaliates, pp. 18 ff. cf. Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, p. 120.

[24] Zonaras, p. 621 ; Skylitzes 427 ff. = Kedrenos 547-549 ; Psellos, VI, pp. 79-81 and n. 209 p. 396 of commentary.

[25] It is the battle of Ostrovo, march 1043 ; Psellos, VI, 79-87 ; here the rebellion of Maniakes is described in depth, as the last battle of the Roman hero is represented with the most intensive pathos ; cf. also Michael Attaliates, pp. 11 ff. ; Aristakès Lastivert, *Rècit*, p. 43 and notes.

[26] Gabrieli-Scerrato, *Gli Arabi*, p. 86 ; Felix, *Byzanz*, p. 210 n. 68 ; Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, p. 119.

remember to posterity the big but unlucky figure of this giant, who, even though for a short time, seemed to have given new life, in the medieval Sicily, to the cosmopolitan dream of the Ortodoxian Christendoom under the Emperor of Byzance.
The purpose of this article is not, however, an in depth examination of the campaign of Maniakes in Italy, nor a detailed analysis of his army[27]: with this contribution we will try to shed light on the military equipment of East-Roman warriors of the first half of the 11th cent., and particularly on the reconstruction of the person of Maniakes and his personal weaponry, dress and equipment during the Italian Campaign. Besides him we have given, in our reconstruction, an hypothetical impression of Harald Haardrada as high Varangian Officer and of a Lombard guardsman, both in the army of Maniakes. To achieve this a comparative analysis of artistic, literary and archaeological sources has been necessary.

Preliminary note

Before we begin the analysis of the military equipment of Maniakes and his warriors an introduction is necessary to explain the *modus operandi* of the present contribution, which intends to present in a new way an attempt at reconstructing East Roman military equipment of the middle period. The author is of the persuasion that the use of ancient artistic sources is absolutely essential for a more truthful reconstruction of ancient military equipment, in particularly of the Eastern-Roman Empire[28].

Byzantine art is often considered as highly conventional and stylised, especially, with regards too the topic which is close to us, the many representations of military armoured subjects offered by the art in mosaics, frescoes, engraved ivories, manuscript miniatures and in the icons are often considered a product of artistic licence or traditional classical artforms, with little relevance to real life. Therefore the representation of Byzantine military equipment in art is often considered obsolete and therefore neglected for the purposes of scientific reconstruction. Now, although it is undoubted that the artistic styles developed through the Roman and Byzantine period were often linked to academic and repeated stylistic rules [29], this

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27 Which I would like to expose in a future contribution.

28 The same opinion is shared by Manova for the late East Roman and Bulgarian weaponry and armament represented in the Church frescoes of 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Cf. E. Manova, *Les armes défensives au moyen Âge d'après les peintures murales de la Bulgarie du sud-ouest au XIIIe, XIVe et XVe s*., in *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 3 (1969) 187-223. S. also the recent article of A.Babuin, Later Byzantine Arms and armour, in D.Nicolle, *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*, London : Boydell and Brewer, 2002, pp. 97-104.

29 Nobody could doubt that the Saint Theodore of the Mosquensis Gr. 376 (183), fol. 25v, has been slavishly copied by the Saint Theodore of the Menologion of Basil II, Vaticanus Gr. 1613, p. 383 ; but for what reason should we doubt that this last prototype, with his whole armament and equipment, have been copied all from a real Imperial bodyguard ? Cf. Sevcenko I., “The illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16, 1962, pp. 243-255, figg. 11-12.

concept should not be regarded as absolute. There is, in my opinion, many elements which show completely the opposite, i.e. that the East-Roman artists, throughout the 12 centuries of the Byzantine history even if following some conventions, represented in their works military figures which they saw with their own eyes. There is even the possibility that they based their works on cartoons or drawings which depicted real figures, or historical events illustrated in earlier paintings executed at the time of the actual event.

From a general point of view, the East-Roman artist was a realist who had to represent a specific character, or some event in history which followed the directives bestowed by his patron. In such representations he adapted the fashions of the age in which he lived and represented characters and figures as they came in to view or as the iconographic tradition dictated that they appear. But while this last element was essential for the major characters of the Church and of the life of Christ, because nobody would have accepted Saint Peter dressed in 10th century fashion or depicted Saint Paul dressed like a priest of the 11th century, the entourage who often surrounded such personages were taken from contemporary life. These would have included representations of peasants, women, priests, houses and Churches and I do not see why soldiers should have been considered as a separate category. Therefore in my opinion they are represented within conventional outlines but which does not exclude an element of reality.

It is important however to consider the problems of artistic convention and stylisation. It is obviously artistic convention not coincidence that on the Great Trajanic Freeze of the Constantine Arch, the Emperor Trajan is represented in the same position as Alexander the Great in the Issos mosaic[30]. Trajan charges the enemy with his spear, in the same way as the Great Macedonian, and rides a horse whose harness echoes those of Bukefalos. Nobody would contest however that in the Issos Mosaic Alexander is dressed as a Senior Macedonian Cavalry Officer of 3rd century B.C., or that in the Trajanic Freeze Trajan is dressed as a Roman Emperor of the 2nd century AD. Some figurative outlines in the ancient World and middle Age art of Byzantium were used and applied for different personages of different ages, but it does not preclude the possibility that artists represented the reality of their own age.

Numerous elements of arms and armour, as well as military clothing mentioned in literary sources are corresponded in the artistic works of the period, as we will highlight in this article. I do not see any reason to deny the value of evidence of the ancient artistic sources when it comes to the reconstruction of East-Roman military equipment. This is even more true when the representations of the artist was an official one, i.e. when the

[30] Cf. Touati A.M. L., The Great Trajanic Frieze, Stockholm 1987, p. 40 and pl. 2, 11.

artist was commissioned to show on coins, mosaics or on painted portraits his patron. In these situations we should expect at least that the clothing and the armour was what actually appeared before the eyes of the artist.

Of course when a particular aspect is highlighted both in art and is mentioned in the literary sources of that period which is then confirmed by archaeology, we will have conclusive proof beyond doubt. But there is a threefold problem, relative to East-Roman archaeology: firstly the military sources are often neglected in favour of the civilian aspects, or religious objects and precious ornaments, and so very few are published. Secondly, the territories which once formed the core of the Eastern Empire are still relatively unexplored. Sadly this state of affairs even extends to Constantinople, which should be a goldmine as regards the military archaeology of Byzantium. Finally in my opinion, much of the equipment of East-Roman warriors throughout Byzantine history was made of felt, linen and other perishable materials, not easily found in the archaeological record. On the other hand the few metallic pieces of military equipment that are preserved are often in a very poor state of preservation.

In the authors opinion Byzantine art must however remain the departure point for every attempt at reconstructing East-Roman armament: its outcomes should nevertheless be compared and re-evaluated in the light of new interpretations from literary sources and from the scarce archaeological data presently available.

The reconstructions shown in this paper should be considered hypothetical, bearing in mind that many elements taken from the sources have been supplied within the restraints outlined above. However the general impression suggests that the combined use of archaeological, literary and artistic elements could present some solutions to the complex problem of East-Roman military equipment of the Middle Period. Until new evidence comes from archaeology in particular from the regions which were once the heart of the Empire - we should not dismiss the artistic sources as merely conventional. The high degree of small archaeological details confirmed by artistic works reveal to us that the general conventional opinion given to Byzantine art must be refuted, bearing in mind that we only have a few fragments of the cosmopolitan world of Rome and Byzantium: worlds that were brightly living, using their own personal fashions and tastes in all aspects of every-day life, including the terrible but always fascinating world of war.

The Skilitzès Matritensis

The *Skylitzes Matritensis* or cod.gr. Vitr. 26-2, covering 250 years of East-Roman History (811-1057 A.D.), is with its miniatures the main and probably the most important document

for the knowledge of the Roman military equipment of this period ; with 574 illuminations in vivid colours the painters who worked on it represented almost all current types of arms and armour used by infantry and cavalry, dress, uniforms, cavalry harnesses, standards, war-machines including the use of artillery and Greek Fire, but also scenes from court, cathedral, monasteries, convents and gardens, executions, assassinations, hunting scenes and especially battle scenes, giving a very lively and colourful impression of all the aspects of human and cultural life of Byzantium and its Empire in the middle period. This manuscript, variously dated from the 12th to 14th cent., is now assigned by Grabar[31] to the 13th century : but we can not totally reject the late 12th century date[32], and the work could probably be a copy produced in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily from a metropolitan original brought in Italy from Constantinople by the Greek Enrico Aristippo, as a gift from the Emperor Manueles I Komnenos (1143-1180) to the King William I.

Though the miniatures, following this last hypothesis, are logically a primary source for the military equipment of 12th century Byzantium, they should be considered very detailed and highly precious for any period described. The conservatism in Byzantium towards the old Greco-Roman tradition, together with the innovative elements taken from the influences of Eurasian steppes and Iranian-Islamic world, is clearly represented in the military subjects of miniatures, where the painters proved to be acquainted with the military equipment current in the palaces and streets of Constantinople in their own days, as well as with details and elements from the preceding periods, copied presumably from the antique wall-paintings from palaces and armoury-halls.[33] The importance of this source for the reconstitution of the East-Roman military equipment has yet been underlined elsewhere, and should not be stressed

[31] Grabar A. - Manoucassas M., *L'illustration du manuscript de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, Venezia, 1979.

[32] Wilson N.G., *The Madrid Skylitzes*, Scrittura e Civiltà 2 (1978) 209-219 ; Various, *I Normanni, popolo d'Europa, 1030-1200*, Roma 1994, p. 267.

[33] The code and its miniatures are entirely reproduced in *Skylittzes Matritensis, "Reproducciones y Miniaturas",* Barcelona-Madrid 1965, 420 pages in folio, by D. Sebastian Cirac Estopanân. In this artwork, however, there are few colours reproductions : a good selection of colour reproductions we can find, at opposite, in Bozhkov A., *The miniatures of the Madrid manuscript of Johannes Scylitzes*, Sofia 1972, where are reproduced 170 miniatures generally in colour; Sherrard P., *Byzanz*, Nederland 1967, pp. 63-73 ; Hetherington P.-Forman W., *Byzantium, city of Gold, city of faith*, London1981, pp. 28, 33, 64-69 ; Kaplan M., *Tout l'or de Byzance*, Paris 1991, pp.4-12,18,20,24, 32,40,42,47,56,60, 71,98-99,119 ; Cardini F., *Europa, Anno 1000, Le radici dell'Occidente*, Milano 1995, pp. 66-67,76-78,125 ; and last in Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini...*cit., fig. 24-31, 33-36, 428, 518-520. Other interesting work on the subject is, for the problem of chronology, I.Sevcenko, *The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the light of its new dating*, in "I.Hutter, Byzanz und der West, Studien zur Kunst der Europaische Mittelalters", Wien 1984, 117-130. A new full colour complete edition *facsimile* of the manuscript has been now published in Greece: *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Codex Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26-2 (Facsimile Edition), Athens : ΜΙΛΗΤΟΣ 2000.

here[34]. But the main question which interests us is : to what degree of confidence can we assign to the single miniatures and to the single figures of personages here represented in the reconstruction of the living military world of Byzantium ?

At the decoration of the code were assigned three main painters, each of them with a manner of his own to the representation of the details, and especially, for what concerns us here, of arms and armour. The first painter (*folios* 9-87 and 227-234) shows in the representation of it a huge wealth of variation in details, with bright and pleasant colours; the rich military equipment shows evidence for both Hellenistic and Oriental elements, and the figurative style remembers that of the miniatures of late 12th century illuminated manuscripts, such as the *Vatopedi Octateuch* or *De Rebus siculis carmen* of Petrus de Ebulo[35]. The second main-painter (*folios* 96-156 and 203-218) is different from the first for his coarser drawings, the larger size of the pictures and has more character to his figures. In the military equipment we find traces of classical Roman and Hellenistic reminiscences, but he seems be more attached to the Mediterranean reality of the 12th century than the first one[36]. The third painter (*folios* 157-186 and 219-226) reveals a strong Eastern Influence on arms and armours, the style is more stylised than the other two but important details can be seen in single items of equipment including maces, swords, lances, saddles, bridles, stirrups and harness ornaments[37]. In any case are not missing precise references to Hellenistic reminiscences in armour[38].

The opinion of Hoffmeyer was that the whole work was the product of more than three hands, one of them at least being the master and the others his pupils. But all the painters must have sought their inspiration amongst the various wall-paintings of the Imperial Palaces and residences representing battle-scenes

[34] An in depth examination of the Skylitzes from the point of view of the military equipment has been realized by A.B. Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid*, Gladius, n. 5, 1971, where the author deals with the different forms of arms and armours in different chapters, together with a good selected iconographic military repertory from the miniatures (fig. 22-51) and reconstruction drawings (fig. 7, 8, 12, 13,14, 16, 18, 19). Comparing the literary sources with the miniatures of the Scylitzes T. G. Kolias in his still unsurpassed book *Byzantinischen Waffen*, Wien 1988, shows us that the miniatures represented in detail the living reality of the East-Roman Army (plates XXIV-XXX). Also Eric McGeer in his traduction and commentary of Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta Militaria*, in *"Sowing the Dragon's Teeth",* Washington 1994, reproduces a lot of military illuminations from Scylitzes to show the reality of the miniatures in relation to the description of the military writers. A good colour selection of some military miniatures of the code is now in Kolias T.G., *...απ' των καστρων τις Χρυσοπορτες*, Αθηνα 1998, a summary book on the East-Roman art of war.

[35] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 36 ; Huber P., *Bild und Botschaft, Byzantinischen Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Zurich 1973 ; Erben W., *Die Bilderhandschrift des Petrus von Ebulo um 1200*, in Zeitschrift fűr historische Waffen und Kostűmkunde, vol. VII, 1915-1917.

[36] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 36-37.

[37] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 38.

[38] Cf. for instance folio 162*v* (armour of the first cataphract on the left), 163r (idem), 164v (armour of Vardas Phokas), and folios 177v, 181v, in *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Facsimile Edition .

which are now long lost[39]. If this was the case, there is not doubt that the artists used models of official representations for their work, so that the miniatures could easily represent real episodes. Their modern counterparts would be pictures of the First World War illustrated with scenes based on photographs and newsreels from the Vietnam war. Sometimes - in spite of the stylisation and conventions and the more or less individual interpretation of the historical episodes - they give an impression of the live in the Byzantium at the time of the artist, and I would add that some figures could well have been copied from people living in the City.[40]

The relevance of the miniatures to the living history could be underlined with the two following examples, which show the correspondence among old literary sources and the work of the painters. In the Chronicle of Leo Diakonos is described a duel among the proud Anemas, imperial bodyguard, and the Prince of Rus Svjatoslav, at the battle of Silistra, in 971 AD[41] : the sword of Anemas is stopped by the chain mail (αλυσιδωτος χιτων) of Svjatoslav. The same episode, mentioned in Skilitzès, does not report the detail of the chain mail, speaking only generally of the οπλα of the Russian prince : but in the *Skilitzès Matritensis folio* 171*v* Svjatoslav is represented clad in a blue chain mail reaching down feet long[42]. It is obvious that the miniaturist does not represent in a casual way this episode, but used a previous source for the representation of the history.

In the Ceremony Book of Constantine Porphyrogenitos there is an accurate description of the military *epilorikion* (over chain mail garment) worn by the Emperor Basil I in 878 AD[43], the so called “rose cluster” (*rhodovotrun*) : a gold embroidered breast-plate tunic covered in pearls set in a criss-cross pattern, and with perfect pearls along the hems. This piece of Imperial military garment is represented very clearly in the *folio* 43 *v*, as worn by the Emperor Theophylus[44]. Also in this case the representation is not casual, but, as I suppose, based on earlier iconographycal sources representing the Emperors of the 9th century in their own garments.

A final example can support my theory. That is the facial representations in the *Skylitzès Matritensis* could be used as a

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[39] For example the walls of the armoury of the Emperor Theophilus, painted with all kind of arms in use in his days, or the precious mosaics let by the Emperor Basil I in *Kainourgion* represented him among his guards, or in battle scenes ; cf. Dalton O.M., *Byzantine art and archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 261 and 393.

[40] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 33.

[41] *Leonis Diaconis Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, Bonn 1828 p. 153.

[42] Cf. folio 171*v* in *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, *Facsimile* Edition ; cf. Skylitzes 297 = Kedrenos 410.

[43] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, Bonn 1829, p. 500 ; cfr. the commentary of Haldon J. F. on page 277 of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus - "*Tres tractatus de expeditionibus militaribus imperatoris*" -Three Treatises on Imperial military expeditions, Wien 1990 ; cfr. Dawson T., “*Suntagma Oplon, The equipment of regular Byzantine troops, c. 950 to c. 1204*” in David Nicolle, A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour,London 2002, pp. 81-90 note 11 p. 82.

[44] Cf. folio 43*v* in *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, *Facsimile* Edition.

valuable source for portraits. We known two precise representations of the Emperor Basil II executed at the time or shortly after his death. One is the famous portrait of the Emperor clad in full armour preserved in Cod. Gr. 17 of Biblioteca Marciana of Venezia, fol. III *r* [45]; the second is the portrait of the Emperor in Imperial Court dress preserved in the Exultet 1 of the Metropolitan Archive in Bari[46]. Both the portraits correspond very well to the description of Basil II let by the historian Psellos[47], in his *Chronographia*, I, 35-36. Some details of the Skylitzès miniatures, especially the folios 182-184 and 186[48] reveal the third painter could have drawn upon such a description for the portrait of the Emperor, with his beard covering his cheeks and his eyes lit by a manly expression, exactly as described by Psellos.

A) Georgios Maniakes

Based upon these preliminary remarks I have conceived the illustrations of the *Matritensis* as the sole source possible as a departure point for my attempt at reconstructing the figure of Maniakes. The history of Maniakes is illustrated in miniatures from *folios* 202*v* to 224*v*, partially due to the second main painter, partially to the third [49]. In our reconstruction (**plate 1A**) the figure and armament of the General are principally based on miniature of *folio* 213*v* of the manuscript (***fig. 1***), representing the episode of the quarrel with Stephanos just after the end of the battle of Troina[50]. The horse, shield and sword of the *Strategos* are based on the *folios* 213*r* and 224*v*, representing, respectively, the victory of Troina and the last battle of Maniakes as usurper in 1043 (**fig. 2-3**)[51].

Georgios Maniakes is described by his contemporary Psellos as very high (10 feet = 3,12 m. ![52]) and with his whole

[45] Cf. Sevcenko, *The illuminators*, cit., fig. 17.

[46] Cf. Ministero dei beni culturali, *Exultet, Rotoli Liturgici del Medioevo Meridionale*, Roma 1994, pp. 129-134 and p. 140.

[47] Michael Konstantinos Psellos (1018-1077), lawyer, official of the Imperial Chancellery, secretary of Emperor, Philosophy teacher, monk, Leader of the Senate and Premier, gave in his *Chronographia* a lively and colourful description of the events which happened at the Court of Constantinople between 976 and 1077, writing 7 books of imperial biographies from Basil II to Michael VII. His in depth analysis of the characters of people provides an accurate description of vices and virtues of the major protagonists of the East-Roman Empire in 11th century ; the way of his exposition, which melt the severity of Tucidides together with the gossip of Prokopios in his *Historia Arcana*, confer to his work a pre-eminent role among the East-Roman 11th historiography, making it a primary source for events and physical and psychological portrait of Emperors, generals and High Clerical people. About Psellos and his work see Michele Psello, *Chronographia*, Vol. I-II, Milano 1997, pp. XIII-XLIII of the introduction and bibliography 325-338; Ostrogosky, *History*, pp. 292-293 and bibliography ; A.Rambaud, "Michael Psellos, philosophe et homme d'état byzantin du XIe siècle", in "*Etudes sur l'Histoire byzantine*", Paris 1912, pp. 110-71.

[48] Cf. the correspondant folios in *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, *Facsimile* Edition.

[49] Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* cit., pp. 190-208 and fig. pp. 391-409.

[50] Ibid, p.199 and fig. p. 400 ; **fig 1** is from Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, fig. 33.

[51] **fig 2** is from Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* fig. p. 399; **fig 3** is from Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, fig. 36.

[52] The standard East-roman foot came to 31,23 cm., which developed itself from the classical roman foot, equal to 29,6 cm. See Schillbach E., *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970, pp. 13-16. For a summary of East- Roman measures

person inclined to command, not agreeable and rough by aspect [53] :

"...Τουτον εγω τον ανδρα και τεθεαμαι και τεθαυμα
κα ; συνενηνοχε γαρ αυτω η φυσις
οποσα συμπρεπει τω στρατηγησοντι ; ην γαρ την ηλικιαν
εις δεκατον ανεστηκως
ποδα, και οι προς αυτον οπωντες ωσπερ εις κολωνον η κορ
υφην ορους ανεβλεπον. Το δε ειδος
αυτω ου τρυφερρον και επιτερπες, αλλ' οιον εοικος
πρηστηρις; εβροντα δε και τω φθεγματι, αι τε χειρες
οιαι διασειται τειχη και πυλας συντιψαι χαλχας,
το δε ορμημα τουτω οποιον λεοντος,
και το επισκυνιον βλοσυρον...".

Looking on Skilitzès miniatures where it is represented his history, especially on the *folios* 205*r* (***fig.4***) [54]and the 213*v*, we found a good adherence to the description of Psellos: so any eventual attempt of reconstruction of his face (**plate 2**) and of his person (**plate 1A**) should be based upon these. The miniaturist of Skilitzès could have drawn on an original source to reproduce the head[55] and the body of Maniakes, because of the physical impressiveness and the darkness of his skin, probably reflecting the Turkish origins of his father Gudelios[56].

The *folio* 213*v* of *Skylitzès Matritensis* shows Maniakes wearing on his head a red felt special military hat (καμελαυκιον)[57]; it is almost perfectly round or arched on the

see also the table in G.Amatuccio, *Peri Toxeias, l'arco da guerra nel mondo bizantino e tardo-antico*, Bologna 1996. So our man, following Psellos, was 3,12 meters high !

[53] Psellos, *Chronographia*, VI, 78 : "*...I met this man and I was amazed and wondered about him. Nature assembled in him all which suits to command. He was 10 feet high and everybody who looks at him should raise their eyes as it towards the high ground or the top of a hill. His figure was rough and not agreeable, but seemed like a hurricane ; He had voice as thunder, hands able to shake walls and destroy bronze portals, a lionlike impetous and feral face...*".

[54] ***fig 4*** is from Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, fig. 34 ; Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* cit., pp. 191-192 and fig. p. 392.

[55] See in particular the miniature 224v (***fig. 5***, from Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, fig. 36) where a imperial cavalryman holds the decapitated head of Maniakes on his spear ; the Greek text in red character upon the figures says : " ο Στεφανος βασταζων την κεφαλιν του Μανιακου επι δορατι". The commander of the imperial army which fought against Maniakes in 1043 was effectively the eunuch Stephanos, the same man who introduced the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos in the Holy Palace on the 11 June 1042 (Skylitzès, p. 423 and 428 = Kedrenos, *Synopsis Histor.*, p. 542 and 549). A more detailed description of the military triumph of Stephanos and of injury against the head of Maniakes is reported in Psellos, VI, 86-87.

[56] Aristakès di Lastivert, pp. 30, 42-43 ; Psellos, *Chronographia*, II, ed. E.Renauld, Paris 1928, p.2 ; R. Guilland, *Recherches...*pp. 107 ff. ; Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*...p. 118.

[57] The word *kamelaukion* was the usual one to describe the normal headgear worn by civilians and soldiers (see for example Du Cange-Du Fresne, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, *duos in tomos digestum*, Lugdunum (Lyon)1688 col. 560-561 ; Achmet, *Oneirocriticon*, Ed. Fr.Drexl, Leipzig, 1925, p. 168 ; and Digenis Akrìtas IV,117, where the diminutive καμηλαυκιτζιν is employed to describe the headgear worn by the young greek nobleman while hunting : s. *Digenis Akritas, Poema Anonimo Bizantino*, a cura di Paolo Odorico, Firenze 1995, p. 69 and note 3) ; as score and not-metallic helmet in East-Roman armies of 10-11th the word is often mentioned in military sources : see for example De Cer. II, 670, 3, where, for the expedition against the Arabs of Creta in 949, among the equipment provided for the fighting men on the warship (δρομων) are listed 50 καμελαυκια, probably provided to the

front, lightly puffed up on the back, perfectly close-fitting on the head like a helmet. In this way we have reconstructed it in **plate 1A** and **2**. The red colour in the miniature it is not guesswork. This was one of the favourite colours of Roman military leaders and officers, in dress,[58]uniform[59], mantles[60] and caps.

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fighting sailors (πλοιμοι πολεμισται), in opposition with the 80 metal helmets (κασιδια) assigned to the thematic troops embarked on the ship (see *De Cer.*670). The *Praecepta Militaria* of the Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas I, 23 prescribes for the infantry the use of "*thick caps of felts*" (καμελαυκια απο κενδουκλων παχεα) s. text in McGeer, cit.p. 12-13. The *anonymus* of the *De Obsidione Toleranda* written about in the time of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus considers it necessary to include the presence of tailors in military expeditions so they can deal with*"...epilorika (*garments worn over cuirasses made of chain mail*) and thick kamelaukia, in case of need instead of the helmets..."* (*Anonymus de obsidione toleranda*, Leiden 1947, 48, 5 ff.). Also if the mentioned sources are dealing with military headgear for infantrymen, some miniatures in East-Roman illuminations of 11th century show the use of thick headgear by military leaders or cavalrymen instead of the helmet. See for example the folios 11*r*, 32*v*, in Marciana Gr. 479, in Italo-Furlan, *Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*,Milano 1981, fig. 15b, pl.11 ; or the most striking example representing the siege of a city in a manuscript of 11th cent. of the Nationale Bibliothèque in Paris, where the attacking Καβαλλαριοι καταφρακτοι wear red and light blue felt *kamelaukia* (in Gallotta Bruno, "Basilio II di Bisanzio", in "*Storia Illustrata*" Ottobre 1979, p. 130-131). For further evidence of the use of *kamelaukion* in military context see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, cit., pp. 85-87 ; idem, *Kamelaukion*, in *JÕB* (Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik) 32/3, Wien 1982, pp. 493-502, on the different shapes and colours of the hats not only in military contexts ; see also McGeer, cit., p. 62.

[58] Very exemplary is the description by Synesius (*De Regno* 12 PG, 66, 1804) about the Emperor Carinus (but probably referring to Probus) receiving the Sassanian embassy : he was seated on the land and dressed in a red purple tunic (φοινικοβαφης χιτων) of cheap wool (φαυλων εριων). S. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti ed armati i milites dell'Adparitio*, in Note agiografiche, VII, 1928, pp. 218-219. In the *Skylitzes Matritensis* many Roman leaders and also foreigner Kings are wearing red garments : see for example the folio 82*ra* (Khan Omurtag), in Bozhkov, cit., p. 59 ; the red επιλωρικιον worn by the general Vardas Phokas in his duel against the usurper Skleros, in folio 178r in Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, *I Bizantini*, cit., fig. 25 ; see also the red *Divitision* worn under the armour by Maniakes, in **fig. 3**.

[59] For example the red *skaramangion* of the couple of hunting Emperors in the fragment of Mozat, today in Lyon ; the cloth, of 8th century, is showing the uniform fitting to the body of both leaders, typical for its red colour, the military colour of antiquity, when the cavalry had to make out the commander when he ordered the charge in battle. See Kondakov N.P., *Les costumes orientaux à la Cour Byzantine*, in Byzantion, 1924, I, p. 31 and fig. 12a ; for a good representation of the Mozac Hunter Silk see Muthesius A., *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, *AD 400 to AD 1200*, Wien 1997, pl. 24b, and Hubert-Porker-Vollbach, *L'Europa delle invasioni barbariche*, Milano 1968, fig. 269.

[60] For the red mantle or *paludamentum* of generals and Emperors in classical Rome s. Plynius the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* XXII, 3 ; it was dyed with *coccus*, a vegetal pigment which conferred a bright red colour ; in the same way the "*coccinea clamide*" of Alexander Severus (HA, XVIII, 40), Tetricus (HA, XXVI, 34) ; it was worn in battle as distinctive mark (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VII,88). Cfr. also Antonucci C., *L'esercito di Cesare*, Milano 1996 p. 25; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti*, p. 225 n. 3. The military mantle, of rectangular form, was called σαγιον (from lat. *sagum*), and sometimes considered a true χλαμις, even if the latter reached down the heels, differently from the first. Originally the σαγιον was a military garment, worn also on ceremonial occasions by both emperors and imperial officers, in particularly military. The two terms were used with a certain interchange (v. *De Cer.*I, 10,1 compared to II, 546; I, 230-231, where the purple mantle of the *kouropalates* is called before χλαμις and then σαγιον) ; normally the military *paludamentum* was worn also on Parade over the appropriate tunic or σκαραμανγιον. That one of the *Autokrator*, inherited from the mantle of the Roman *Imperator*, was usually of purple, so that the expression "wearing the purple" took on the meaning of the Imperial investiture. See *De Cer.*I,362. In war the χλαμις-*paludamentum* was since from the 4th century an integral part of the military wardrobe of the Emperor, and it was still in the 11th as attested by the famous miniature of Basil II in Cod. Marc. Gr. 17 and the Troyes Casket (Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. X, XII).

The πατρικιοι worn usually white χλαμις (λιτα = cloth without a pattern) with golden (*De Cer.*I,71) or purple squared cloth application or ταβλιον (ταβλια απο οξεου, I, 142), as well as a purple *sagion* (*De Cer.*, I, 167); the imperial Guardsmen of the Ανθροποι Βασιλικοι, the Μαγιστροι and the personell of the imperial chambers (Κουβουκλειον) wore a purple σαγιον (*De Cer.* I, 105 and 109). But on Easter day all the οφφικιαλιοι wore red σαγια.

We should note moreover that the τριβουνος πραισενταλιος, i.e. the commander of the *schola* of the Imperial

Considering that πιλος (*pileus*) is often synonymous of felt[61], we find uninterrupted from the 3rd to the 11th centuries literary and artistic sources speaking about a felt or cloth cap on the head of soldiers and leaders in the Roman army, a cap which the latter artistic sources confirm as red or purple[62]. This hat was called πιλος ακωνον, i.e. hat-helmet[63]. This kind of *kamelaukion* derived directly from the Persian *Tiara* of Achemenid times[64], and we can suppose normally fastened on the back by means of a band of the same colour (δεσμα)[65], turning frontally and linked by a knock behind the nape, as showed in **plate 1A**.

We should note in any case that the cap worn by Maniakes in the miniature is of the same shape and colour of those worn by the other officers, Stephanos included. In other miniatures of the same code other officers and soldiers are wearing similar red caps[66]. There is also good reason to suppose that this kind of headgear was worn as a padded protection of the cap under helmet, in conjunction with the turban or

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taghmata on duty in the City, to whom the security of Constantinople was entrusted during the absence of the Emperor worn a red-brown *sagion* when welcoming the victorious Emperor from the wars (*De Cer.* I, 495). About this last aspect and for the *sagion* in general see the commentary of Haldon on page 259-260 of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus - *Imperial military expeditions*, cit...; Ebersolt J., *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines,* Paris 1951, 56-57 and n. 5 ; Vogt A., *Commentaire au Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète*, I-II, Paris 1940, I, p. 30. On the χλαμις see Reiske I.I., *Commentarii ad Constantinum Porphyrogenitum De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, Bd.II, Bonn 1830, pp. 63-66, 128, 307, 432, 467-471, 692-693 ; on the Imperial χλαμις Wessel K., *Insignien*, Reallexicon zur byzantinischen Kunst 3, Stuttgart 1973-1975, pp. 475 ss.

61 S. for example *Peri Strategias*, XIII, 112, but especially XVI, 59, speaking of felt headgears for soldiers ; in "*Three byzantine military treatises*", text, translation and notes by Georges T.Dennis, Washington 1985.

62 We should remember for the 3rd - 4th centuries the cylindrical *pileus pannonicus* described as worn by the Emperor Carinus before the Persians (Synesius, *De Regno*, cit. : he was covered only by the *pileus* covering his baldness, meanwhile the helmet was besides him) in parallel with those worn by the four Tetrarchs on the porfido monument, originally in the *Philadelphion* (or inserted on the sides of the Markianos column) of Constantinople and now at the corner of San Marco in Venise ; of course this latter is more a diadem - crown, as indicated by the holes whose was once attached the bronze crown, than a simple cap, but the form is practically the same as the *pileus* worn by the common soldiers; the original colour of it was red, with golden crown; i.e. the cylindrical red cap was the under support of metal helmet or crown, as was the normal *pileus* for the soldiers (Vegetius, I, 20 ; it was made *ex pellibus*, i.e. of leather); see Kolias, cit., pl. II,1 ; Hottenroth, *Trachten, Haus, Feld und Kriegsgeratschaften der Volker alter und neuer Zeit,* Stuttgart, 1887-1892, pl. 74 (I) and 20 (II) ; for the text and comment of Synesius s. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti*, pp. 230-232. For the 5th century a red-yellow brown felt phrygian cap appears worn by the *Magister Militum* Stilicho on the mosaic of Faenza, s. Various, *Magistra Barbaritas*, Milano 1984, p. 515 fig. 425; and among the different types of *kamelaukia* mentioned by the 9th - 11th centuries *Oneirocritikon* of Achmet a particular place is reserved to the Βασιλιδος πορφυρας καμελαυκιον, wearer of dignity and honour (*Oneir.,* 215).

63 The expression was used by Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates*, III, 7, 3 : "...υπερ δε της κεφαλης φορει πιλον ακωνον...", then translated by Justinus Aquileienses : "...*super caput autem gestat pileum in modum parvuli camelaci (calamaci) aut cassidis*..." i.e. "...*over the cap he wears a hat like a small helmet*...". This expression seems to indicate exactly the kind of kamelaukion worn by Maniakes in the miniature. See *Commentarii* of Goar to the work of Kedrenos, p. 907.

64 See Duncan H., *The Achaemenid Persian Army*, Stockport 1992, fig. p. 8, 18 ; we should remember in any case that the use of the military cap passed from the Scythians and Persians to the Greeks, Macedonians, and then to the Romans, so that already in the early Imperial age it was possible that the Eastern legions or auxiliary troops used similar headgear under their helmets or instead of it.

65 *Parekbolai*, 18, 4, in *Stratagemata*, speaking of the persian *kamelaukion* ; s. also *Hypotheseis*, 20,4 and *Polyainos*, VII, 11,2, both in *Polyaeni Strategematon*; Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 86.

66 See *folios* 215*r*, 215*v* 216*r*, 217*r*, 217*v*, in Bozhkov, *The Miniatures*, pp.156-177.

phakeolis [67].

Relating to the defensive body armour the *Strategos* wore the so called κλιβανιον, a lamellar or scale cuirass usually of interlocked iron, bronze or boiled leather or corn plates called πεταλα[68]. The structure of the kind of scale-armour worn seems be composed by a soft Greek-Hellenistic muscled corselet (***fig.1 and 6 n. 1***) - whose borders are visible under the scales - covered by big scales or *lamellae* which may be made of gilded horn or boiled leather, shaped as big feathers and with what seems to be a bronze lining on the borders of each scale.[69] The use of scale corselets of Graeco-Roman fashion as distinguished by the correspondent in Iranian fashion was underlined, for the warriors represented in the *Skilitzès Matritensis*, from Mrs. Ada Bruhn Hoffmeyer.[70] This kind of scale *klibanion*[71] was very decorative in its aspect : the scales-*lamellae* seem to be vertically joined to one another by means of leather-laces going through the two parallel holes of each *lamella*, and forming a compact structure which was put on a leather base. The armour was closed at the sides by means of leather straps fastened by small buckles, may be – for

[67] In my opinion the fashion remembered by *Praecepta Militaria*, I, 24, about wearing of *kamelaukion* by means of the *phakiolion*, should be interpreted as putting on a turban or φακιολιον over the *kamelaukion*, in a way that the hat was more firmly fixed on the cap. In fact, at least for the 10-11th cent., the *phakiolion* is really a turban worn by leaders and soldiers under the helmet (or instead of the helmet) : see for example De Cer. 500, where the small Emperor is triumphing in Constantinople in military costume with a white-gold decorated turban worn on the cap ; but more evidently we have very beautiful and detailed representations of the φακιολιον, as for example the common light infantry represented on the *folio 316* of the *Menologion* of Basil II, the fully armoured προξιμος of the *Scholai* Johannes represented in the Armenian manuscript of the Adrianople Gospels, early 11th century, San Lazzaro Lib., Ms. n. 887 /116 Venice, and also the armed warrior of the late 10th century representing Joshua painted on the walls of the Hosios Loukas Monastery, where the lower part of a *Phakiolion* is visible under his one-piece lacquered white helmet. For the miniatures of Menologion s. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologium di Basilio II*, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613, Torino, 1907, 2 Voll., p. 86 and *folio 316* ; I have seen the miniature of Johannes *in situ* but it is published in Adontz N.G., *Etudes arméno-byzantines*, Lisboa 1965, p. 170; for the fresco of Hosios Loukas s. Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XIII; see also on the argument Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 85-87 ; Haldon, *Imperial Military Expeditions*, p. 279 ; Reiske, De Cer. comm., p. 584.

[68] About the κλιβανιον and relative bibliography in East-Roman sources as well in modern works, see Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 44-49 ; Haldon, *Imperial Military expeditions*, pp. 278-279 ; McGeer, *Sowing the teeth...*, pp. 23-35-39, 41, 67, 70-71, 99, 115-121, 185, 212-214.

[69] This kind of lamellar armour made of horn or boiled leather, mentioned for the 10-11th centuries in the military treatise of Leo VI the wise (Leo, *Taktika, V, 4*), in *Sylloge Tacticorum* (38, 7), in Pseudo-Konstantinos or Nikephoros Ouranos *Taktika* (pp. 3, 10-11), may be represented in the *Skylitzès Matritensis* (s. for example the miniatures of folios 108-109-121*v*-122-135*v* in Bozhkov, *The miniatures*, pp. 64-69, 85-89 ; 135*v* - 151v in Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, fig. 42-48 and fig. 8 nn. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8) when the artist represents scale armour with very big *lamellae* or *Petala* shaped as big feathers looking downwards. The use of a very similar Κλιβανιον is first time attested in the painting of Joshua and the Archangel *Archistrategos* Michael, in the Church of Great Pigeonnier at Goreme, Kappadokia, dating to 963-969 AD s. Jerphanion, *Les Eglises Rupestres de Cappadoce*, Album, II, pl. 139 n.1.

[70] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, pp.55-60.

[71] The term κλιβανιον was universally used in the Greek military language of the 10-11th century to indicate either lamellar or scale armour; s. for example Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 31; *Sylloge Tacticorum* 31,1; *Praecepta Militaria*, 3, 27 ss. ; on the argument see also Haldon J., *Some aspects of the Byzantine military technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 1, 1975, pp. 34-37.; and always for the structure of some Κλιβανια the article of Dawson T., *Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion : some aspects of middle Byzantine military equipment reconsidered*, in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 22, 1958, pp. 38-50 ; cf. also Dawson, "*Suntagma Oplon*" pp. 84 ff.

comparison with the lateral details of the armour in *folio* 213*v* - possibly similar to those found in the Great Palace of Constantinople by the Scottish finds of Talbot Rice[72] (***fig.6 n. 2***). These scale-coats looked really as scale- garments made of big superposed feathers : the way of fastening is hovewer difficult to understand. Looking in any case at the miniature of the Armenian Imperial Officer Johannes from the Armenian Adrianople Gospel of Venice, [73] we note that his κλιβανιον (even though this latter is lamellar so of a different type than the scale one worn by Maniakes) is fastened on the shoulders. Also the feathered armour should have a similar way of fastening, i. e. fastened on the shoulders by means of a system combining loops and buttons, as those used to fasten on the shoulders the sleeves of καβαδια mentioned by *Praecepta Militaria* I, 3 (***fig.6 n. 3-4***)[74]. At lower borders of the corselet the miniature shows attached small *kremasmata* (tongues of the armour border, in ancient time *kymation*)[75] of coarse silk and cotton gold painted (***fig.6 n. 1***)[76]. For the *πεταλα* [77](*lamellae*)

[72] Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, Edinburgh 1958, pp. 98-100 and pl. 58. This is the unique example of lamellar armour found until now in Constantinople. About the reconstruction of such a armour see Beatson P., *Byzantine Lamellar armour ; Conjectural Reconstruction of a find from the Great Palace in Istanbul, based on early medieval parallels*, in Varangian Voice n. 49 november 1998, pp. 3-8, and Nicolle, *Arms and armour of the Crusading Era, 1050 - 1350*, London, 1999, II Voll. pp. 38-39 and fig. 41.

[73] See note 69 above ; the miniature shows us the Officer closed in parade armour i.e. a golden lamellar kλιβανιον and the officer sash around the breast.

[74] κομποθηλυκια ; s. *Sylloge Tacticorum* 38,4 ; *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, 56,3 in Mc Geer, Showing, cit. pp. 89-163. Byzantine buttons of this period have been found both in Constantinople and in Corinth. See Hayes J.W., *Excavations at Sarachane, in Istanbul, Vol. II*, Washington 1988, p. 263-264 and figg. 546-552. The ***n. 4*** of ***fig. 6*** is copied by n. 551. See also Davidson G.R., *Corinth, the minor objects,* Princeton 1952, 296-304, fig.2614-2634.

[75] The word's meaning is literally "hanging pieces" and it is used in *Praecepta Militaria* III, 4 and in the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos 60, 4 to indicate the padded and quilted skirts made of cotton or coarse silk (κουκολιον and βαμβακιον) hanging below a soldier's cuirass to protect his legs. They looked apron like and this can explain the archaic Roman appearance of many warriors represented in the art, see for example the Triptych Harbaville in the Shuvalov Collection (Inv. Hermitage no. w ; s. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the collections of the USSR*, Leningrad-Moscow 1985, ff. 126-131).

[76] The big debate in East-Roman military matters is the question of the archaic aspect of some armours are they artistic licence reminiscence or do they really correspond to reality. Obviously the present author supports this second idea, based upon the observation that so many details of armour and weapons, in art, are so close to the contemporary archaeological evidence to exclude, in many cases, convention or a partial correlation to reality. For instance even the spears with a pommel under the point, as those represented in the Psalter of the *Boulgaroktonos* in Cod. Marc. Gr. 17 have been found in Bulgaria (see Vitlyanov S., *The Old Bulgarian Armament*, Sofia 1996, pl. VII n. 15, in Bulgarian with English summary). So may be the representation of military subjects in Byzantine art is not the fruit of convention as many people said. My purpose is, in future contributions, to show the striking analogies among art and archaeology.
The same concept should be applied for the shape of all kinds of armours shown in the miniatures, either if scale or lamellar *Κλιβανια, thorakia* or mail *zabai* : the unique way to solve this problem is a parallel use of art, archaeology and literature, not examined in a separate way. So sometimes, but not as a rule, the diffuse use of leather and felt and organic material as base for armour could have be done, sometimes, in the form presented by the East-Roman art, i.e. an archaic but desirable way to present the Roman heritage of the army. A kind of scale could also be worn over a muscled leather garment, because traditional does not always mean an obsolete type of armour. It is a fact that this argument is in any case very difficult to solve. The problem with the East-Roman armour is that very few fragments have been published or exposed, and the lack of archaeological specimens in felt or leather – together with the difficulty of finding military material in the old lands which were the heart of the Empire – complicates the question.
Of course the true muscled leather (or metal) armour - which I believe as the late Mrs. Hoffmeyer (cf. *The military Equipment* pp. 52-55) still used in XII century (and may be also later) as shown by the *Matritensis* (see for instance the

arrangement we have followed the reconstruction of Miss A. Bruhn Hoffmeyer, based on folio 213*v*.[78]

At the waist he wears a metallic belt from which are hanging leather *pteryges* or padded stripes (κρεμασματα) made of felt, as mentioned in *Praecepta Militaria*, [79] gold painted in the miniature **(*fig. 1*).** They seem to have metal rectangular extra-reinforcements at the lower ends. This last aspect should confirm the theory of Kolias[80] that the *zabai* [81]mentioned in *Praecepta Militaria* 3,4 and in Nikephoros Ouranos *Taktika* 60, 4 as covering the *kremasmata* were composed not only by chain mail but also of pieces of different material stitched together. The use of belts from which are hanging attached leather *pteryges* or padded κρεμασματα is attested in a 9th century miniature of *Athos Pantocrator 61*,[82] and it can help to explain the way to wear this kind of lower abdomen protection. About the material we should remember that in ancient times *pteryges*

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miniatures of folios 26*v* - 31*r* - 54*v* - 67*r* in Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XXV, XXVII, XXVIII) - was used alone, because of the thickness. It may be that the level of protection was no so effective but we should remember the use of the περιστιθιον (s. *Digenis Akritas* IV, 118; the term περιστηθιδια is used for the undercuirass garments mentioned in *Perì Strategias* 16, 60, may be the same garment once called *thoracomacus* see *De Rebus Bellicis* 15 and *zoupa* in the middle Byzantine age, s. note 57 under) under it as second defensive element. Alternatively, speaking about the use of leather muscled corselets under a κλιβανιον, I suggests two possibilities :
1) as in the ancient world Roman, Etruscan, Greek warriors used small leather corselets, lightly moulded, which were the support for the fastening of the scales, this system could be still in use by the Roman Army of 11th century. We are obviously speaking about the scale κλιβανια as for instance the specimen shown in our *folio* 213*v*. 2) A second possibility could be that in some kind of lamellar *klibania*, the leather garments (we should remember that the *thoracomacus* was a leather undercuirass filled with felt), separated from the *lamellae*, were the support for rows of lamellae fastened to each other and to the support too. Of course the other is the type of scale armour with scales attached to a support separated and put on the garment "*at least a finger thick*" mentioned in *Perì Strategias*, XVI, 20-22. This can explain because, in some sources, we can look at representations of κλιβανιον which shows a muscled form, together with other κλιβανιον which does not show a muscled form, κλιβανια of different kind of *lamellae* and construction, chain-mail etc...For instance, in the over mentioned folio *67r* of Skilitzés we have a warrior with a muscled leather cuirass, beside three warriors wearing scale κλιβανια. One of these has got a slightly muscled form, the others not.
Still in the *folio* 113*v*. Konstantinos son of Andronikos is closed in golden lamellar armour with a prominent muscled form (see Kolias, *...απ' των καστρων,* cit. p. 16). The same is for instance the Goliath of the Psalter of Basil II (see Ian Heath, *Byzantine Armies 886-1118*, London 1978 p. 37), meanwhile the Emperor wears his lamellar armour over a not so marked, but slightly muscled, garment.
The sources are so detailed in the differences that we can not always solve the problem of the muscled form as an artistic reminiscence of the heroic age of the Greeks and Romans.

[77] Leo, *Taktika*, XIX, 13; *Naumachica*, I, 14 ; Achmet, *Oneirokritikon*, 156.

[78] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, fig. 8 n. 5.

[79] Eric Mc Geer, *Showing…,*cit., p.69-70.

[80] Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 66.

[81] The word ζαβα was used as a general meaning for mail armour (λωρικιον) but in the second half of 10th century it became also used to indicate single pieces of protection done from mail, metallic plates, mixed organic and metallic material applied at single parts of the armour. About it and the relative bibliography, see Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 37-44, 66-67 ; Kolias, *Ζαβα, Ζαβαρειον, Ζαβαρειωτης*, in *JÕB* 29, Wien 1980; Mc Geer, *Showing...,* p. 70.

[82] Cfr.Pelekanidis-Christou-Mauropoulou-Tsioumis-Kadas-Katsarou, Θεσαυροι του Αγιου Ορους. Εικονογραφημενα χειρογραφα III, Athens 1979 fig. 228; the miniature represents a warrior armed with shield, spear, conical helmet, arm protection but without visible armour, though he could have worn it under the blue over garment; the armoured belt is worn instead over this kind of *epilorikion*; for troops armed in a similar way see also the initials of letter Π in *Omelies of John the Chrysostomos* Gr. II, 179, f. 197*v* in Biblioteca Marciana of Venezia, in Italo-Furlan, *Codici Greci* fig. 30.

could be of leather, but we can not exclude the use of a mixture of coarse silk and cotton (κουκουλιον and βαμβακιον) or even felt by the cut of stripes of *kavadia* to form this kind of protection. [83]

The use in the East-Roman army of bossed *pteryges* is archaeologically suggested by a buckle from Sardinia, found in a cavalryman s' grave of the 8th century, where the owner of the buckle is shown falling from his horse : he is dressed with an undercuirass garment with bossed *pteryges*. [84] Of course this kind of protection should be hung from a metallic or leather bronze plated belt, because of the weight. The overall impression was in any case a metallic one[85].

On the upper arms he wears metallic bracelets, probably the *Manikia* mentioned in the sources[86] ; these are protective sections of the upper arm shaped like true armoured bracelets (***fig.7 n. 7-8***). It was an extension of the arm protection, as separated metallic scales *pteryges-kremasmata* forming an additional protection which the warrior fastened around the upper arm. These metallic μανικια are similar but bigger than those worn by Basil II in the miniature of Marcianus Gr.17., and can be seen in a lot of artistic subjects representing East-Roman

[83] This could help to explain also the difficult interpretation of the passage mentioned in Praecepta *Militaria* III, 8; cutting the καβαδιον in the form of old fashioned *pteryges* and so forming the protection from waist down gives as result κρεμασματα which preserves the Roman aspect of the armour without excluding the practical protection, necessary for the cavalrymen with short *klibania*. The *kavadion* was a word used in medieval Greek of this age both to indicate a military garment which could be used alone, as undercuirass or overcuirass, composed by felt mixed with cotton, as well a Court Dress.

As a garment, finding his apogee as Court Dress in the 14th cent., was probably derived by the Sassanian Persian. The late Sassanian warriors of Piandjikent are represented wearing them it distinctively in the frescoes of 7-8th century (Yakobovsky, *Questions in the study of Piandjikent paintings*, Moscow 1953, fig. 19-23, pl. XXXIII, in russian). It is so not improbable that the word comes from a garment used from the Persian Princes, called *kabbade*, as said by Tzetzes in his *Commentarii Iliadis*,2 and as confirmed by Kodinos, VI, who tells us as the Roman Emperors received, through Cyrus and then Alexander the Great, this dress from the Assyrians, i.e. from the Persians: *"...and from the Lordship of the Medians received the phakiolion and l'epilorikion, from the Assyrians the skaranikon, the kabbadion and the flag dragon shaped..."*. - (Codinus Curopalates, *De Officialibus,* VI, p. 54 *; commentarii* pp. 229-230).

As military dress was a long one, shorter of the Court dress, composed by padded material doubled internally and externally, with or without sleeves, not folded and without hems, touching the calf, composed of doubled κεντουκλον which formed the thick body of the garment; when the body was closed by a belt, the movement of the legs reveals that the lower edges were folded by means of sewing on the internal hems. The soldiers wore it in battle if were lacking metal armour, even if the καβαδιον could well be worn under or over the κλιβανιον for a better body protection. See *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38, 4 ; 38, 7 . This fasten again to his function, in successive ages, of overgarment. So Tzetzes in the above over mentioned passage: *"...The battle dress, the garment cloak of the soldiers, just called καβαδης from the Persian kabbade ..."*.About it see also Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 55-56 ; Dawson, *Kremasmata*, 39-42 ; Kondakov P. N., *Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine*, in Byzantion, 1, 1924, 7-49.

[84] Cfr. Lilliu G., *Milizie in Sardegna durante l'età bizantina*, in Sardegna, Mediterraneo ed Atlantico tra medioevo ed età moderna, Roma 1993 p. 105-136, p. 133 ; and Caprara R., *Reperti metallici altomedievali* in AA.VV. Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari 1978, 209-221, pl.LXXXVI.

[85] See Laszlo G., *Etudes Archéologiques sur la societé des Avares*, Budapest 1955, pp. 265-269 where the author shows plates of East-Roman and Avarian belts from the 6th – 7th centuries, which were probably produced by East-Roman workshops from the same mould used to do the metallic applications of the cuirass *pteryges-kremasmata*.

[86] See for instance Digenis Akritas, VI, 158, p. 153, where the hero, after a battle, comes back to his beloved taking off his weapons, i.e. shield, sword and arm protection.

warriors in 11th century.[87] By my opinion these protection for the upper arms, worn in the miniature of ***fig. 1*** by Maniakes and his officers are the μανικια mentioned in *Praecepta Militaria* III,4 and in the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos 60, 4 for the equipment of a καταφρακτος.[88]

We must confront the texts to better understand the succession of the protective elements of the upper body listed by the strategists.

Praecepta Militaria III, 4, 26-31: "*...Each warrior must wear a κλιβανιον. The κλιβανιον should have μανικια down to the elbows. Down from the elbows they should wear μανικελια (arm-guards) which - both these and the skirts hanging (κρεμασματα) from the κλιβανια - have ζαβαι and are made of coarse silk (κουκουλιον) or cotton (βαμβακιον) as thick as can be stitched together...*"

Nikephoros Ouranos 60, 4, 39-40: "*...Each one must have a κλιβανιον. The κλιβανια must have μανικια down to the elbows and the men must have χειροψελλα (arm-guards). The skirts hanging (κρεμασματα) from the κλιβανια must have ζαβαι of coarse silk (κουκουλιον) or cotton (βαμβακιον) and these hanging pieces must be as thick as can be stitched together...*"

Practically in *Praecepta* the protection is composed by the κλιβανιον (lamellar or scale armour) + a first protection for the arm from the shoulders to the elbows (μανικια) + a secondary protection for the forearms (μανικελια) covered by ζαβαι. In Nikephoros Ouranos we have the κλιβανιον (lamellar or scale armour) + always a first protection for the arm from shoulder to the elbows (μανικια) + a second protection for the forearms (χειροψελλα). There is no doubt that the authors are showing the ideal succession of the protective elements which a *kataphraktos* should have, succession formed by the sequence κλιβανιον+μανικια+μανικελια or χειροψελλα.[89]

[87] For other example of such armoured bracelets separated from the other parts of armour see for instance the 11th century miniature Armenian gospel previously mentioned (notes 69 and 75), the 11th cent. fresco of the Serpent Church in Goreme, Kappadokia, representing Saint George and Saint Demetrios (Jerphanion, *Les Eglises*, pl. 135) and the miniature of the Studite Psalter Ms. Add. 19352, in British Library, London, 1066 AD, representing Goliath, 182*r* in Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age* I-II, Paris 1966-1970 pl. 100 fig. 285.

[88] Both the texts in Mc Geer, *Showing...*, pp. 34-37, 112-115 ; I report in the following the translations of McGeer.

[89] Both the terms indicate protection for the forearm ; χειροψελλα comes from χειρ + ψελλιον, decoration of the arms, arm-piece. They were a couple of hand and forearm cover made of lamellar lists; they should therefore cover not only the vambraces but also the hands, by means of extension or by means of leather gauntlets reinforced by iron mail. Basilios Parakoimomenos (*Naumachica*, 5,5) writes, about the equipment of the fighting sailors: " *...spears (δορατα) and curved swords (δρεπανα), and arm protection (χειροψελλα), ...*"; the same in the Taktika of Pseudo-Kostantinos p. 4 about the equipment of old infantry *"... ring armours (λωρικια), lamellar armours (κλιβανια), helmets (κασιδα), arm-pieces (μανικελλια), greaves (χαλκοτουβα)..."* and after few lines of the infantry of his age *"...wearing either lamellar armours (κλιβανια) either ring armours (λωρικια), either greaves (ποδοψελλα) either arm-pieces (χειροψελλα)..."*; and at p. 18 about the heavy infantry "*...they wore either χειρομανικα i.e. χειροπσελλα in iron or in wood..."* e s. also p. 11. Also Leo in his *Taktika*, speaking of the cavalrymen weapons, VI, 3: *"... either the ποδοψελλα either the χειροψελλα of iron or the others made of wood..."* They were made also of other material, as

It seems evident to me that the authors are not using here the word μανικια as simple word for "sleeve" but to indicate an element of protection from the shoulder down to the elbows and then from the elbows to the hands[90].

The fastening system can be seen by a scanner analysis of this source: it seems to be a system formed by two rows of metallic *lamellae* ; a leather thong held each lower longer *lamella* strongly tied to the higher ; the whole structure formed a single compact lamellar bracelet put on a soft base, probably made of leather or κουκουλιον. The *koukoulion* was a kind of silk of low quality but strong and used for padding parts of military dress as well, as being used for instance for the καβαδια and *kremasmata* edges of the κλιβανιον.[91] The bracelet was then possibly fastened around the arm by means of a metallic boned clasp (***fig.7 n. 8***), like a true bracelet, probably in the way shown by clasps of a pair of 9th century επικαρπια of a senior officer found in Thessaloniki. [92] An other way to fasten similar μανικια to the arm was with a simple buckle, as shown in a fresco of the Church Karanlik in Goreme, Kappadokia.[93]

The shield of Maniakes (σκουταριον - ***fig.7 n.5***), is based on the miniature of Skylitzès showing him in his last battle (***fig.3***). It is the so-called kite-shield or "three cornered shield", of about 105,3 cm. c. length described as used by the cavalry in the *Sylloge Tacticorum* (39,1) and of about 93,6-117 cm. described, always for the cavalry, by *Praecepta Militaria* (IV, 36-37) [94]. This shield was circa 70 cm. wide in the largest point[95]. The structure was normally wood-framed covered by leather, and in our reconstruction, by blue-dyed donkey or oxen hide[96], with a red- leather edge stitched all-around and riveted

padded cloth, felt, wadding, just as mentioned in the passage of *Praecepta Militaria* mentioned above, or in boiled leather: S. also Leo, *Taktika*,V,3; *Syll.Tact.*,39,2. About it s. Kolias, *Waffen*, pp.65-69 ; Mc Geer, *Showing...*, p. 62 ; Haldon, *Expeditions*, p. 289.

[90] A interesting confirmation comes from the fresco of the Church of the Serpent, in Goreme, above mentioned. Here the cavalryman wears, from the point on the shoulders where ends the lamellar armour : 1) until the elbows - after a short space of padded cloth - a metallic μανικιον (the colour used in the fresco is the same for the iron of the κλιβανιον) ; 2) from the elbows to the hands is padded cloth protection, followed by metallic plates forming a short *cheiropsellon* protecting the forearm. It seems to me that we have all the elements described in *Praecepta Militaria*, even ζαβαι covering both μανικια and μανικελλια formed by metallic and not metallic materials. The fresco dates of the 11th century. See a colour photo in Güven F., *Cappadoce, Goreme*, Eski Nevsehir, p. 23.

[91] *Praecepta Militaria*, I,3; III, 4 ; Nikephoros Ouranos 56,3 ; 60, 4 s. Mc Geer, *Showing..*, p. 12-13 ; 34-35 ; 61-62 ; 88-89 ; 113-115 ; Kolias, *Waffen*, 56-57 and notes 149-150.

[92] Hetherington-Forman, *Byzantium*, p. 90; Wessel K., *Die byzantinischen Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13.Jh,* Recklimghausen 1967 pl.14; these magnificent specimens are represented as dressed on the wrists of an Imperial Guardsmen in the *folio* 215*v* of the *Gregorius Nazianzenus Cod. Gr. 510* de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, 9th century, cfr. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, I pl. XXXIX p. 23. I worked on a film of the miniature to note the detail.

[93] See Gűven, *Cappadoce*, p. 32 ; Nicolle, *Arms and Armours*, fig. 530a.

[94] See McGeer cit. p. 40-41 and p. 72; Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 109; Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, cit. plates C 1, H 2,3 and pp. 35, 40.

[95] See Heath J., *Armies of the Dark Ages, 600-1066*, Worthing, 1980, p. 68 fig. 13.

[96] The use of donkey hide for military shield is attested, for the 11th century, by a letter of Maximos Planudes, who complains about the parchment sent to him to writing, made of donkey hide. He says that it should be better used by the

on the inside by large nails[97]. This was the normal material of Roman Shields from the III century onwards[98]: for the East – Romans shields, splendid oval and circular specimens, coming from Egypt and belonging to 5-6th centuries, reveal a framed structure in cedar wood covered by a lavishly painted leather surface.[99]

In the miniature representing the shield of Maniakes the front of shield shows a second red circle (***fig.3***), which was presumably painted on the surface in a decorative way.[100] Around it there is a similar decoration with silvered nails corresponding to the internal straps fixed for the loading and the handling of the shield. The carrying straps of the shield shoulder belt – visible in the *folio* 224*v* - were fastened in the inner part of the shield by means of smaller rivets.[101] The straps passed through small thongs and small iron or bronze buckles[102], here copied by specimens from military fortresses in Romania (***fig.7 n. 6***)[103]. Eustathios of Thessalonika (12th cent.) - but it could be derived also from artistic representations of one-two centuries before[104] - reports that shields were worn by means of X-shaped strap handles (χιαστοι)[105], but this does not mean that, at the

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soldiers for their shields: "..*But why these should not be sent by us to the soldiers ? In fact if it has covered each shield and shields of 7 layers of oxen leather, if I not say may be a exaggeration, at least we have done it much more profitable...*" See Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 92-93, where the Greek text is reported.

97 Here copied by specimens found in Garigliano, now in a private collection; they were found with other military small finds in the moor of the Garigliano river, which was probably the epicentre of the battle of 916 against the Saracens by the coalition of Lombards, Neapolitans, Papal, East-Roman and Southern Italian troops attacking the Muslim base on the Minturno. The finds will soon be published.

98 S. Rostovtzeff M.I., *Excavations at Doura Europos, Preliminary report of the seventh and eight season of Work (1933-34 and 1934-1935)***,** New Haven 1939 pp. 326 ss. and plates XLI-XLVI.

99 Junkelmann M., *Reiter wir statuen aus Herz*, Berlin 1996, pp. 115-124.

100 A characteristic of East-Roman shields was their beautiful decoration ; see Kolias, *Waffen*, 124-129. However Kolias believes that the decoration on the shields, visible in the artistic sources, is sometimes due to the *horror vacui* of the painter. I think instead that the artists copied exactly what they saw in real life on the shields of the warriors. But this is a matter for other article.

101 Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 121 and note 173.

102 See the very clear details shown on a 12th representation of Αγιος Γεωργιος in the Church of Αγιοι Αναργυροι in Kastoria ; the τελαμων of the shield - as was called in the medieval Greek with ancient expression the shoulder belt of the shield (see Suda IV, 517 ; *Etymologicon Magnum* 750, 25 : "...τελαμων : *the hanging of the shield, which is a wide strap, from which the shield is worn...*" ; Zonaras, Lexicon, 1716) - is passed through a small iron buckle, and his extremity is attached to the rear of the shield by means of a clearly visible rivet. See Πελεκανιαδης & Χατζηδακης, *Καστορια*, in "*Βιζαντινη τεχνη στην Ελλαδα*", Athens 1992, fig. 21 p. 41.

103 Cfr. Stefan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia*, Asezarea Feudala Timpurie de la Bisericuta Garvan, Vol. I, Bucuresti, 1967 ; p. 298 fig. 173 n. 20 ; it is 2,6 x 19 cm., in bronze with iron tongue ; it is dated by the archaeologists to the second half of 11th century ; its almost nearly rectangular shape is practically identical to the buckle painted on the shoulder belt represented in the Kastoria fresco. Similar East-Roman buckles have been found in Sarkel Belaja-Veia, s. Artamonov O.A., *The Graves of Sarkel Belaja Veia*, in Trudy Volgo-Donskoi Archeologiskegoj Ekspedicii, III, Materialy i issledovanije po archeologii URSS, 109, Moscow 1963, fig. 47 n. 7 p. 59-60.

104 See, for example, the rear of the shield of a carved plate in Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, 10-11th cent. ; the shields worn by warriors engaged in the battle of *folio* 469*v* of the Smyrna Octateuque, Vat. Gr. 746, Rome ; but overall the shield represented in the *folio* 308*v* of Cod. Taphou 14, East Jerusalem, late 11th cent. ; s. Nicolle, *Arms and armours*, figg. 11-17a-34b.

105 Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, I, 371, 1 ss. ; II, 562, 17 ss. Fixed in the internal side of the shield there were shorter strap handles for hand and forearm of the owner, the οχανον i.e the πορπαξ of ancient times, to allow the handling of the shield or by means of which the shield was worn if missing the shoulder strap. S. Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 120

same time, carrying straps were not in use. Comparing different shield representations where such a handle fashion is recognizable, we note the various possibilities to combine each other the inner shield straps[106]. So we have often a forearm belt for guiding and handling, and another belt used only for handling. The latter was relatively long, i.e. it was not so tight to let the warrior 's hand through the opening - instead of embracing tightly the straps with fingers - in order to have the left hand free to carry either weapons or the horse's reins[107]. But we can also assume that, in case of real danger, the handle could be firmly held, so that the shield was resistent to the enemy blows.[108] The handle of the grip and stripes was fundamental, in any case, for the handling and the correct use of shield during the battle.

The handling straps - as also the carrying straps of the shoulder belt - were fastened to the shield by rivets. The rivets were often fastened at the external part of shield and they contribute to the general reinforcement and decoration of the whole shield (**Plate 1A**)[109].

On Maniakes shield represented in *folio* 224*v* the rivets may be represented by the pointed circles disposed around the red decorative line on the external (or internal ?) surface of shield (***fig. 3***). The rivets were almost arranged at determined distances. This system was combined with the shield ornamentation so that, as in this case, it was also part of the shield decoration[110].

From the miniature it is not possible to see if the shield wore at his centre the central reinforcement buckle or *umbo* normally used by the Romans since antiquity, but other kite-shields represented in the *Skilitzès Matritensis* shows shields both with and without an *umbo*.[111] It was called *boukkolon* or *omfalos* in the sources of the period[112]. In our reconstruction **(plate 1A)** we have copied the gilded *umbo* preserved in

and note 167-168 with bibliography.

106 See for instance the *folios* 145r, 178r of Cod. Lond. Add. 19352 (in Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, fig. 233, 281) ; the *folio* 312*r* of Cod. Taphou 14, in Nicolle, *Arms and armours*, fig. 34c ; the shield held by the infantryman in the ivory casket of Victoria and Albert Museum, in Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 34.

107 Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 120 ; see the 11th century ivory icon of Saint Demetrios in Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 9.

108 Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 121 ; he remembers the episode in which *Digenis Akritas*, the popular hero of the homonymous East-Roman Poem, held only the κρατημα (handle) of his shield, after that it had been destroyed by a blow. See Digenis Akritas, VI, 220.

109 See the specimens of Dura (Rostovtzeff, *Excavations* pp. 329-330 and pl. XLII; for studded decoration of shields belonging to Romano-Lombard weaponry found in Castel Trosino, Stabio, see AAVV, *Magistra Barbaritas*, pp. 244-245 figg. 118-121; and see also the East - Roman 7-8th shield fragments exposed in *Museum Crypta Balbi* in Rome, in *Roma, dall'antichità al Medioevo, nel museo Nazionale Romano, Cripta Balbi*, catalogue, 2001 pp. 401-402

110 Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 121; the effect is evident in the many shields represented in the artistic sources, see for instance, Kolias, ...απ'των καστρων, pp. 15, 18, 38, 49.

111 Examples with three cornered bossed shields : *folio* 217, in Bozhkov, *The miniatures*, fig. 95,98; folio 28v, in Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XXV n. 1 ; *folio* 199*v*, in Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* fig. p. 389; examples without bosses : *folios* 178*r,* 230*r*, in Von Falkenhausen, *I Bizantini*, fig. 24,28 ; *folio* 82*r*, in Bozhkov, *The miniatures*, fig. 26.

112 See *Suda* III, 536, 22ff. ; *Eustathios Commentarii*, II, 256, 5ff., Anna Komnena, *Alexiadis*, XIII, 8,2; see also Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 98-102; Reiske, *Commentarii*, , pp. 794-795; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, Il *Menologio*, pl. 215.

Aleppo, decorated with hunting dogs pursuing a stag[113]. However, just to give an idea of the difference, among the different types of the same shield, the shield rear represented in ***fig. 7 n. 6*** is without the open space provided for the hand in relation to the *umbo*.

The leader's sword - brandished by the same in the *folio* 202*v*[114] as well in the *folio* 224*v* (***fig. 3***) - is fastened in our reconstruction at waist by a military belt over the armour (a different belt from that one worn under the κλιβανιον to whom are attached the hanging *pteryges-kemasmata*) closed by means of a buckle.[115] The sword, a East-Roman *spathion*[116] c. 85 cm. long, based on the form shown in *folios* 202*v* and 224*v* (***fig. 3***), looks very similar to the magnificent sword preserved in the Essen Cathedral treasure, with its precious scabbard, covered by embossed gold leaf, and its hilt with precious stone, enamels and gold filigree (***fig.8 n. 19***)[117]. It has obviously been the base of our reconstruction. Even with a more ancient blade the golden work of the Essen sword, with filigree and precious stones on the lobed pommel and with small enamel plates on the hilt, should be dated to 10-11th cent. Only the medaillon's framing and the chape are later, so the scabbard's chape has been replaced, in our reconstruction, with the East-Roman one found in Bulgaria (***fig.8 n. 19a***) and dated to 10th cent. [118]. The sword of Essen therefore corresponds to some kind of swords represented in the Skilitzès[119], and the goldsmith's work is

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[113] See Nicolle, *No way overland ? Evidence for Byzantine arms and armour on the 10th -11th century Taurus Frontier*, in *Graeco-Arabica* VI, Athens 1995, pp. 226-227,235-238 pl. 1. It was fastened by 8 bronze nails - one still visible - corresponding to the inner square padding in order to rest the arm.

[114] It represents the major victory of Maniakes against the Muslims at Teluch ; see Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* p. 190 and fig. p. 391.

[115] Form and decoration of this belt could have been similar to the Krjukovo-Kusnovo belt, find in Magyar graves of 11th century; it is a belt with inner fastening, whose decoration and artwork are to be ascribed to East-Roman workshops; s. I. Dienes, *La ceinture de Karancslapujto de l'époque de la conquête hongroise et son pendant provenant du pays des Mordves*, in Archeologiai Ertesito, 91 Budapest, 1964 ; it is the model for our reconstruction **(plate 1A).**

[116] It was the term specifically used to indicate the sword type directly coming from the late-Roman *spatha*, 80 cm. length; it was then used also to mean generally a sword, see Kolias, *Waffen*, pp.137-138 ; in our case we have to make do with a σπαθιον ζωστικιον, i.e. a sword hanging from the belt and normally shorter that the swords worn by the *kataphraktoi* with a strap hanging from the right shoulder in a "Roman way". See Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 2 ; *Praecepta Militaria*, I, 25 (infantry sword) ; *De Cer.*, p. 500 (Imperial sword) ; cfr. also Haldon, *Imperial Military Expeditions*, p. 278 ; Kolias, *Waffen*, 150 and note 110 ; Mc Geer, *Showing ...,* p. 63 and 71.

[117] See G.Human, *Ein Schwert mit byzantinischen Ornamenten im Schatze des Műnsters zu Essen*, in Beiträge zur Geschichte von Stadt und Stift Essen 20, 1900 1-28; and Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 134 and Hoffmeyer, *Byzantine military equipment*, p. 98, 102 for the thesis about the East Roman origin of the sword.

[118] This specimen, from Madara, is by my opinion to ascribe to the Wars of Basil II in Bulgaria, see G. Feher, *Les Monuments de la culture protobulgares et leur relations hongroises*, in *Archeologia Hungarica*, Budapest 1931, p. 73 ; his East-Roman origin is attested by a similar exemplar found in Cherson, see under note 254.

[119] See for instance Kolias, ...απ'των καστρων, p. 35; see folio 38v in Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* p. 69 and fig. p. 252 ; s. *folio* 80*r* in Bozhkov, *The miniatures*, p. 57 ; its semicircular or semi-spherical pommel and his hilt are very close to other specimens of East-Roman swords represented in the art of 10-11th cent., for instance the sword of Joshua in *folio* 3 of the *Menologion* of Basil II, s. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, pl. 3 and p. 4; sword of Saul in *folio* 17*r* of Vat. Gr. 333, pl. VII fig. 28 in Lassus, *L'illustration Byzantine du livre des rois*, Paris, 1973 ; sword of Saint Orestes in the mosaics of Monastery Nea Moni on Chios, pl. 61, in Mouriki, *The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, Athens 1985. For a classification of East-Roman pommels and of the different parts and pommels of the sword see Kolias, *Waffen*, pp.140-147 with notes and bibliography ; Hoffmeyer, *Byzantine military Equipment*, pp. 95-97.

similar to other specimens of East-Roman jewellery of the 10-11th centuries[120]. Furthermore, Maniakes held the rank of Imperial Πρωτοσπαθαριος, so that it suits him the *spathion chrisokanos*, i.e. the sword with golden hilt or grip described in many passage of the Book of Ceremonies[121] as rank sign of these Imperial Guardsmen[122].

In the *folio* 213*v* (***fig. 1***) what looks like a normal whip could be a flail, i.e. a three leather hanging straped whip to which bronze weights or maces were attached. It was a weapon that East-Romans adopted from the Khazars, who had served in the Imperial Guard for two centuries[123]. It was a small mace to which a whip was fixed at the top and, for this reason, was called a battle-flail. Such an weapon could be used from horseback and it allowed stronger hit than a normal mace. The weapon was composed by a leather or horn body furnished of strapes – of real leather or black hemp whip, the latter stronger than a normal whip, and a wooden, leather or horn shaft - with small bronze-spheres as weights or maces at the ends.[124] Those of bronze were the best weights for flails, because they were smaller and lighter than those of stone or stag horn, but stronger and harder. Magnificent even if rare specimens come from Dinogetia, in the East-Roman Cities of South-Romania[125]. In the **plate 1A** it has been reconstructed from those finds.

In the Kedrenos text the weapon used by Maniakes to bit

[120] See for instance figg. p.159, 260-264, 276 in *Das Reich der Salier*, 1024-1125, Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz/Forschungsinstitut fur Vor und Fruhgeschichte/Bischoflichen Dom und Diozesanmuseum Mainz, Sigmaringen 1997.

[121] *De Cer.* II, 574-575, 640; in *De Ceremoniis* I, 82 they wear a σπαθη ζωστικη; on these swords see also Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 157-158; for an example of *Protospatharioi* or high rank guardsmen wearing such kind of swords see folios 239, 440 of *Gregorius Nazianzenus Parisinus 510*, in Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, I, pls. XLI, LIX.

[122] See *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, pp. 91 and n. 36 ; 127, 132 n. 97.

[123] About the Kazhars in the Imperial Guard see *De Cer.* II, 576, 660-661, 692-693 ; they where enlisted in the Τριτη Εταιρεια, see Oikonomidès, *Les Listes*, p. 327. About the use of flails by the Khazar warriors see M. V. Gorelik, *Warriors of Eurasia*, Montvert, Stockport, 1995 pp. 18-19.

[124] S. Stefan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia*, p. 340, 404.

[125] From Dinogetia we have in particular only 3 specimens of bronze pears, of the second half of 11th cent.; their limited number is due to the difficulty to get them. They are bronze melted in a form of small pear, forming a weapon of more or less effectiveness as regards to the relationship between heaviness and mass. Among the three solid specimens, two are prevalent with 8 vertically extended protusions. In the lower part, the body ends with a small rounded protusions, in the upper part, with a powerful circular ring, to which the whip end was linked. One of the weight is a little bigger, with rounded protusions on the body. The second, smaller, presents protusions on the edge. The third is thinner and smoother than the others, with a blunted body. Their dimensions are 5 cm. long with a 2,8 cm. diameter. A good number of horn stag shafts (25 specimens), have also been discovered, a little bigger and stronger than knife shafts, even though of the same length ; this was the kind of shaft probably used for the flail to which ends were linked horn, stone or bronze maces they are furnished at ends with two small transversal holes, probably for this function of fastening to the flail. Some are empty inside, with a tubular appearance. Others are empty only for a small part, with the two holes at ends. Most of them have a polished body, very shining. However some others, even though finished and used, seem not to have been intentionally polished. For this reason curved light horn sections, which could have a better grip because of their pattern, were preferred as shafts. Only some of them have got a brief decoration, and among the others it has been discovered a half-worked specimen. See Stefan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia,* p. 88 and fig 42 n. 18 p. 82 for the hand-grip, p. 340 and fig. 182 n. 1-2, 184 n. 1-2 for the bronze specimens. Other specimes of bronze of the Khazars have been found in Sarkel Belaja-Veia, s. Artamonov, in *Sarkel Belaja Veia*, in Trudy Volgo-Donskoi Archeologiskegoj Ekspedicii, I, Materialy i issledovanije po archeologii URSS, 62, Moscow 1958 fig. 55 p. 76.

Stephanos is called σειρομαστης (743 : "*...and raising the flail wounded him not few on the cap...* "); this term is usually used in the medieval Greek sources to indicate a kind of spear, but also *flagellum*, whip for horse.[126] If we remember that the Roman *flagrum* was furnished with metallic balls[127], we can understand why Stephanos reported wounds. It is unusual to find this reference here, where we have proof that the miniaturist represented what is mentioned in the text and that Maniakes used really a weapon to hit . The evidence that Maniakes used a flail finds is reinforced in another episode mentioned by Leo Marsicanus and Amato of Montecassino, where is reported that officers of Maniakes, in the same context of the Campaign against the Arabs, humiliated the Lombard Ardouin Captain of the Normans, with their flails, in a quarrel concerning a horse. [128]

The cloak (*chlamis-sagion*) of Maniakes is the typical East-Roman one, of quadrangular-shape and buckled on the right shoulder[129]. It was made of linen[130], because of the season, even though dyed of bluish colour. In Byzantium the military dresses were conditioned by the Circus Factions or by the belonging to a limited regiments. The blue, green, white and red colour distinguished the regiments of the Imperial *taghmata* , as well the infantry regiments of the Capital, *Noumeroi* and soldiers των Τειχεων, linked with the different parties in Constantinople.[131] So in De Cer. 577 the sailors of the Imperial *Dhromones* are wearing *"...the uniforms of all the four colours of the Taghmatic troops...",* and in De Cer. 588 where the different commanders of the infantry Regiments have the same colour of the same Circus Factions whose they are δεμαρκοι. In the miniatures representing the Imperial elevation[132] three or more soldiers with red, blue or green tunics are around the Emperor. So the colour of Maniakes cloak is probably derived

[126] See Du Cange *commentarii* to Pseudo Kodinos pp. 242-243 ; Goar *Commentarii* to Kedrenos p. 934 ; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1345-1346.

[127] For a reconstruction of the Roman *flagrum* see Various, *Il Vangelo che non conoscevate*, Milano, 1976, pp. 113-117.

[128] Amato, II, XIIII-XV, pp. 72-73 ; Leo Marsicanus, p. 675. A different version of the offense in *Anonymus Vaticanus*, *Historia Sicula*, in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, 749.

[129] About the military *Chlamis* s. note 62 above and also Ebersolt, *Mélanges*, pp. 53-56; it was not difference among the two words practically, even if the *chlamis* since the Late Empire was reserved to high officer and Court dignitaries, as a rank symbol, with different applications of squared cloth *tabulae* or *tablia* on the waist high. The σαγιον, from the latin *sagum* or *mantion*, was in origin a military garment. Of course in military field the use of a mantle generically designed as *sagum* (σαγιον) attracted also the term χλαμις, and in the Book of Ceremonies we read of Στρατεγοι and of Officers of Imperial Guard regiments dressed with different colour mantles called *sagia* together with the *χλανιδια* of high Dignitaries (De Cer., I, 242, 277). We can say that the σαγιον was always, but not more exclusively, the attribute of the military man, especially of the *Strategos*.

[130] Originally it was of wool, but see Ph. Koukulés, βυζαντινων βιος και Πολιτισμος, I-VI, Athen 1948-1955, II/2 p. 75 and VI, 289f.

[131] See Haldon, *Praetorians*, p. 322 and notes 985-987.

[132] Cfr. for instance the *folio* 18*r* of Psalter Chludov, in Scepkina, *Miniatjury Chludovskoj Psaltyri*, Moskau 1977 ; *folio* 30 of Ms. Gr. 139 Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris, in Kaplan, *Tout l'or*, p. 30 ; the *folio* 10*v* of Scylitzes in Bozhkov, *The miniatures*, p. 15.

from his linking to the blue faction, or to his Generalship, we should remember also that beside the red or red purple, the other favourite colour of the Emperor's cloak in battle was normally blue purple.[133]

The *chlamis* was fastened on the right shoulder by a αγραφης (*fibula*)[134]. The fastening fibula we have used in our reconstruction **(Plate 1A)** is copied by the cone-shaped fibula of Museum fur Kunst und Gewerbe of Hamburg, of 11th cent. just coming from the Byzantine South Italy (***fig. 7 n. 9***), for its analogy with the φιβλιον shown in the *folio* 213*v*. [135]

In the same *folio* **(*fig 1*)** Maniakes wears two tunics: a light transparent undergarment, the so-called *kamision*,[136] in a vermillion dyed silk, and a superior cotton garment, called *himation*, i.e. the true military tunic[137] which reaches just below the waist but whose edge seems be covered, in this case, by the metallic belt of *pteryges-kremasmata*. The tunics represented in the miniature have no chevrons at the wrists, probably for military use: but the thin *kamision* is splendidly decorated with what seems be griffins, and pattern and colours resemble the authentic specimen of 9-10th cent. preserved at Museum of Fine Arts of Boston[138]. The use of griffin images in the military context is a old East-Roman tradition, derived from Sassanid

[133] The most striking example is the miniature in Gr. 17 of *Marciana* representing Basil II in full armour, but see also the figures of Joshua and the Archangel Michael in the *Menologion* of Basil II, *folio* 3 : they are dressed as senior military commanders, Μιχαιλ as an Υπερστρατεγος, Joshua as a Στρατεγος. The first wears a purple gold embroidered διβιτισιον under a gold lamellar κλιβανιον, and a blue cloak on the shoulders. Joshua wears always a deep blue σαγιον, wrapped tranversally around his chest and tied up his mail λωρικιον. See Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, Il *Menologio*, p. 4 pl.3.

[134] Το φιβλιον, η φιβλια ; see the history of S.Nilos from Rossano, where the monks are dressed like imperial dignitaries are known for their unusual way of fastening the cloak, Reiske, *Commentarii*, p. 65.; see *De Cer.* pp. 208-209 ; *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, pp. 166-167 and n. 144; and Ebersolt, *Mèlanges*, p. 55 note 12.

[135] It is gold, with quartz of conical central emerald and pearl. Therefore seen in profile it is prominent in a conical shape. See *Das Reich der Salier*, 1024-1125, p. 161 n. 11.

[136] A short tunic like shirt, s. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 563-564; *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, pp. 166-167 and n. 139 ; De Cer. 500-501, 574-577 ; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano armati*, p. 217 on the found of a body of Roman Soldier of the 4th century with a tunic worn over the inner *Kamision*; the body was intact, with pants (*anaxyrides*) of cloth with a flower pattern (*ad modum oculorum caudae paonis*) ; the very thin white interior tunic was underneath a red military tunic, whose colour, from the effects of damp, had discoloured the inner : "*...subitus ad carnem...vestis serica albi maxime coloris sed tamen sub rubea...*" in *Inventio et Translatio Clarissimi Mart. Sancti Gereoni a Rudolpho Abb. S. Trudonis conscripta anno Domini 1121, apud Surium VI Coloniae Agrippinae 1579.* p. 619 *;* the *Kamision* as worn under a superior tunic is represented in a lot of different colour in the Menologion of Basil II, cfr. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, pls. 132, 153, 166.

[137] The use of the word *himation* for tunic in the Eastern Army is attested from at least the 6th century onwards; see *Peri Strategias*, 54, 21; but especially the *Strategikon* of Maurikios, I, 2,46.; for the X-XI century s. Leo, *Taktika*, V,12; *De Cer.* 677-678 speaking of different kind of ιματια used by the soldiers in the expedition against Crete in 949; Περι θαλασσομαχιας εκ του Τακτικον Νικηφορου Ουρανου, 119, 4 in *Naumachica*, 93.

[138] Muthesius A., *Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to AD 1200*, Wien 1997, pp. 44-57, 179 and pl. 75b ; the griffins are enclosed in medallions; every medaillon of the cloth is 20 cm. high. The medaillons are set in horizontal rows across the silk and linked by small roundels, up and down. Abstract, geometric ormanent fills the medaillon borders and the roundels, and the latter also have a ring of pearl shapes. Inside the medaillons, facing alternately to the left and to the right are winged griffins attacking quadrupeds (stags ?). The design is in natural fawn colour on purple ground.

Persia[139]. Since from the 3rd century we find images of griffins, as well as in other fields of figurative art and decoration, out also on the tunics, on the mantles and on the boots of Roman soldiers, and the tradition was preserved in the Middle-Age Army[140]. Rich belt and horse harness fittings griffin decorated of East-Roman origin have been found in archaeological context of 7-11th centuries[141]. Also the Digenis Akritas recorded rich military garments (καββαδιον) and boots or leggings (τουβια) decorated by Griffins[142].

The scanner analysis of the image represented in *folio* 213*v* reveals that, on the legs, Maniakes wears red-coloured cotton and close-fitting trousers (*toubia-anaxyrides* απο βαμβακοs[143]) ; they are totally adorned with golden roundels; they were dressed close-fitting to the leg and the thigh-bone, so long to arrive a foot and a half till the toes[144]. He dresses over other τουβια fashioned as true black-leather soft boots[145]. In the higher part, as for the *anaxirydes*,[146] these long tights were close-fitting to the skin, held tight from the underwear or εσωφορια[147]. This was the most common kind of leg-gear for people and Army. Trousers with *tibiales* were well fitted reaching till ankle length, on this fabric they wore other *toubia* like *perones* arriving just upon the knee. This fashion was then adopted from East-Romans by the Turks[148].

Decorated with the dignity of *Prôtospatharios*, Maniakes should wear, beside the already mentioned *spathion chrisokanos*, the *insignia* of this rank around his neck: a golden

[139] Cfr. Yakobovsky, *Questions* figg. 2-14, pp. 93-94, 142 ; Nicolle D., *Sassanian armies early 3rd century to mid - 7th century AD*, Stockport 1996, p. 26, for similar images in the Sassanian World ; for the derivation of the model from Persia s. Niederle L., *Prispevki k vyvoji byzantskych sperku ze IV-X stoleti*, Praha 1930, pp. 47-48.

[140] Cfr. for instance a "military" mantle, variously dated from the 2nd to 8th cent., found in Antinoe ; s. Various, *Antinoe 100 anni dopo*, Firenze 1998, pp. 190-191 cat. 228.

[141] See the Belvedere belt buckle, 8th century ; Csani belt ornament, 8th century, in Niederle, *Prispekvki*, pp. 44,88 ; s. Constantinople belt buckle 10th in Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace*., p. 98, pl. 58 n. 6; Vrap complete belt set, 8th century , Michelsdorf belt plates 8th, horse harness *phalerae* from Mikulcice and Komarno, 8th, in Daim F., *Die Awaren am Rand der Byzantinische Welt*, Innsbruck 2000, pp. 94-107, 298-301, 314 ; Preslav belt fittings and buckles 9-10th cent., in Mavrodinov I., *At the time of Ancient Bulgaria*, Sofia 1959, p. 81, 230, in Bulgarian.

[142] Cfr. Digenis Akritas IV, 126, 226, 923; comments of Professor Maltese on pp. 74-75.

[143] *De Cerimoniis*, II, 678.

[144] Reiske, *Commentarii de Cerimoniis*, pp. 847-852.

[145] The interpretation of the word τουβια is often difficult in the sources of the 10-11th centuries, except for his general references to a leg protection; the *toubia*, from the latin *tibialia* (calf wrappers), which were used to cover the shin-bones, could be in leather or in cloth ; sometimes there are true close-fitting breeches of different type, as in *De Cer.*678; other time the word means true high boots, as for instance in Digenis Akritas IV, 226; in other circumstances it refers only to the leggings covering the boot or the lower part of the leg, a reinforced protection sometimes highly decorated with animal figures, such as imperial Eagles or Imperial symbols; see the best examples of these descriptions in *De Cer.* 470 ; and the passage mentioned in Digenis Akritas at note 123 above. S. also Haldon, *Imperial military expeditions*, p. 221.

[146] On the *anaxirides* s. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti ed armati i Milites*, pp. 211-216. In the *Menologion* of Basil II the soldiers wear it of different colour, with flower pattern, and of different worked cloth, with a check, rhomboid and circlet pattern, often decorated with a band which reaches down to the foot. See e.g. the *folios* 18, 26, 32 of the *Menologion* of Basil II, in Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *il Menologio.*

[147] *De Cer.* I, 469 ; see the *folios* 15, 149, 257 of the *Menologion* of Basil II, in Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *ibidem*;

[148] Reiske, *Commentarii de Cerimoniis*, pp. 440-441.

stiff collar adorned with precious-stones (*maniakion*)[149], copied, in our reconstruction, by the *Prôtospatharios* represented in the *fol.* 239*r* of *Gregorius Nazianzenus 510* in National Library, Paris[150]. Furthermore, hanging from the neck by means of a golden chain, Maniakes wears in our reconstruction a simple silvered bronze cross-amulet, conforming to the costume to give to the new *Prôtospatharios*, at his rank elevation, a silver cross.[151]

In the 11th century East-Roman Warriors used as horses mainly Anatolian races, taken from the regions highly developed in horse-breeding as Phrygia, Cappadocia and Syria, as well Arabian Horses.[152] East-Roman horses were up to weight and of considerable size, reaching 15hh,[153] but the Arabian type were surely favoured in such a climatic region as Southern Italy, apart from the use of captured Arab horses. The Romans and the Greeks already had centuries of equestrian history and the Greeks, who formed ethnically a strong component of East-Roman Empire, were famous for their horsemanship. In Sicily the Muslims had their Arabian and Barb breeds, so there was a wealth of established breeds suitable as war horses. In the miniature 224*v* the horse is very similar in the shape to a fine Arabian horse.

The reconstruction of the horse furniture (***fig. 9***), is based upon the *folios* 213*r and* 224*v*, it has however been very problematic as there does not exist many archaeological evidence of East-Roman Horse Harnesses of 10-11th cent., but only interpretations based upon artistic sources[154]. The complete horse harnesses for this period consist of a good quality bridle, breast (*antilìna*) and back (*postilìna, οπισθελινα*)[155] straps of leather thonging (*kìnglai*)[156],both attached to a thick saddle padd structure (σελλα,σελλοχαλινον)[157] furnished with stirrups (*skàlai*)[158], and horse head straps (κεφαλαρεα)[159]. In the Skilitzès miniature the light brown strap of the Maniakes horse seems to wear pendants from the breast and *phalerae* from the

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[149] See *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, p. 92 and note 40. There is called *kloios* In *De Cer.* I, 290, μανιακια προτοσπαταραθα. Cfr. also *De Cer.* II, 584.
[150] Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. 9 fig. 1 ; for the drawing in **PLATE A1** we have used a diapo from the original kindly given by the Bibliothèque Nationale.
[151] *De Cer.*, I, 170.
[152] See Hyland A., *The Medieval War Horse from Byzantium to the Crusades*, Sutton 1994, pp.18-53.
[153] Idem, p. 85.
[154] See for instance Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, pls.C2,G1; idem, *Armies of Dark Ages*, figg. 143-144 p. 123; Nicolle, *Digenis Akritas and the armies of the Akritoi*, in Military Illustrated 67, December 1983, p. 44.
[155] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 82, 972, 1207 ; Maurikios, *Strategikon*, I, 24 ; it was still used in 14-15th cent., s. the Romance of Achilles vv. 1116, in Cupane, *Poemi Cavallereschi Bizantini*, Torino, Utet, 1994, pp. 400-401.
[156] Digenis Akritas, IV, 377.
[157] See Digenis Akritas, IV, 238 ; the word σελλοχαλινον is used to indicate the complex bit-bridle-saddle, s. Digenis Akritas, VI, 555. *De Cer.* I, 80, 105; Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 8.
[158] Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 10.
[159] S. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 641 ; Pseudo-Kodinos, *De Officialibus*, III, 16 ; The Romance of Achilles, in Cupane, *Poemi Cavallereschi Bizantini*, v. 1116 p. 400-401.

back harness[160] (***fig. 3***).

To find East-Roman contemporary specimens similar to the source has been very hard; however, a reconstruction has been attempted (**Plate 1A and *fig.9***) based upon finds from different part of the Empire. The Roumenian fortresses of Dinogetia Garvan and Pacului Soare, as well as the Bulgarian Madara and different other localities on the Danube, had helped us with very fragmentary but important remains of East-Roman Horse harness of this period.

For the halter harness (κεφαλαρεα) bronze circular buttons were used, for the passage of the leather straps (σαγισμα)[161] in the junction points, as well cruciform fittings. The miniature of ***fig.3*** shows circular fittings at the height of the mouth and the nearby ears. In the reconstruction we have used bronze buttons of East-Roman origin found in Pacului Lui Soare[162] and Garvan[163] (***fig.9 n. 12-13***). These bosses were used to fasten the harness on the muzzle. The specimens are ascribed to the Byzantine period of these cities and similar specimens in East-Roman province were found in Corinth[164]. In the Museum of Florina there are preserved small buttons highly decorated with almandine for the harness of the muzzle found in the Basilica of *Ayios Achilleos* on the lake Prespa[165].

The bit (χαλιναριον, μασσημα)[166] used in the reconstruction could be similar to one specimen found in Roumenian Fortresses too.[167] It is a small bronze bit of the first half of 12th cent., composed by two kinds of rounds linked one another by means of a ring; a body with a rhomboid section bar, finishing in a D-fashion at the ends and turning up to the inside, is attached at each round. This kind of bits were known in the

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[160] The harness fittings were sometimes called χυμευτα because of their decoration; s. Digenis Akritas IV, 240 ; s. Du Cange commentarii Pseudo Kodinos pp. 250-251 ; Reiske, *Commentarii de Cerimoniis*, pp. 204ff. ; for φαλαρα (from latin *phalera*), decorative horse harness pendants or disks, s. Anna Comnena, *Alexiadis*, I, 5.

[161] The relative passage mentioned in Du Cange, *Glossarium* col. 836 is interesting *"...but the horses themselves should be protected from covers for head and from trappings (σαγισμα) in place of ring mail protection...*" I propose the translation of *sagisma* as "harness horse" or "straps for horse harness". See also Du Cange col. 1316.

[162] Diaconu-Vilceanu, *Pacuiul Lui Soare, Cetatea Bizantina, Asezarea Medievala*, Bucuresti, 1972-1977 ; II, p. 147 and pl. XX fig. 7. The specimen (**fig.8 n. 13**) has got a diameter of 3,6 cm. The rays are short because they are circumscribed in a small central disc decorated by a silvered button, which by means of a rivet was fixed to the disc body through niello technique. The form of each ray could represent a strongly schematic cattle head. These discs for horse harnesses were typical for the 11th century, see others specimens in I, p. 156-160, figg. 63/3-5, and Stephan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia*, pp. 347-348.

[163] Idem, p. 345 and fig. 184 n. 4/5. Dated to 10-11th cent. There are simpler buttons (**fig.8 n. 12**) than the first. Between the two bosses, one is bigger and it has the aspect of a button with a 3,6 cm diameter. It is composed by two plates, one a little convex in the upper part and another in the lower part. They are linked by means of 4 low loose pieces of 4 mm. high, opened on the edge, both opposite and similar. Two harness thongs could be crossed between the two circular plates and among the linking 4 low loose pieces. The second smaller boss differs from the first because the upper plate is very convex, similar to a semispherical calotte.

[164] Davidson, *Corinth,* pp. 305-306 and nn. 2645-2648.

[165] See the reconstruction *in situ* and also Μουτσοπουλος N.K., Η βασιλικη του Αγιου Αχιλλειου στη Μικρη Πρεσπα, I-IV, 1964-1965, V, pl. 71.

[166] Digenis Akritas, IV, 378 ; Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 9.

[167] Stefan-Barnea-Cosma*, Dinogetia, cit*, p. 345 and fig. 184 n. 21.

magyar Steppes and in the South-Russia since the first iron age (8-6th cent. B.C.)[168]. Tipologically this kind of bit seems to have a separate origin in comparison with other harness pieces, although we can suppose that it was used by the East-Romans underinfluenced by Eurasiatic Steppes People[169].

The East Roman horses, especially those of the high commanders, were furnished with bronze or golden *phalerae*.[170] On *antilìna* we have posed two bronze cruciform harness pieces (one by side), copied by those of Roumenian Fortresses (***fig.9 n. 11***) [171]. This kind of harness piece is very similar in its decoration to the harness found in People steppe burials so that we can not say how much it was of East Roman influence upon the horse harness steppes Peoples serving as mercenaries in Roman Army or vice versa. On ***fig.9 n. 15*** we have reconstructed an example of metal mount for bridles with the specimen of Svetorazevo, from Danube[172], undoubtedly of East-Roman provenance.

The *postilìna* is decorated by a bronze harness (***fig.9 n. 14***), coming from Dinogetia Garvan.[173] It consists of a central, circular and convex part, decorated on the edge with a series of small roundels, and 4 semi-circular arms like rings arranged in a cruciform way, to which ends 4 thongs, closed in that point, were linked. We can suppose two of these fittings, for both parts of the back strip, and their shape could suggest that they could be employed also for the fastening of a second transversal strap posed on the horse back.[174]

The saddle system of East-Roman horsemen of this

168 Gallus-Horvăth, *Un peuple cavalier préscythique en Hongrie*, in Dissertationes Pannonicae, seria II, 9, Budapest, 1939, pl. XLVI n. 6, LI n. 10 and LXXIV nn. 7-9.

169 Or may be a similar influence. We should not forget that the different ethnic composition of the East-Roman soldiers and mercenaries led to the use of their own weapons harnessed together with items derived from Imperial arsenals, see Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 34-35, 134.

170 Senior East-Roman commanders have got gold *phalerae* on their horse harnesses; cfr. the episode, quoted by Leo Diakonos, p. 148, of the death of the *Magistros* Ioannes Kurkuas at the battle of Silistra by the hand of the Russians of Svjatoslav di Kiev, where he is thought as the Emperor for the gold harness and *fàlara* of his horse.

171 Stefan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia,*p. 345, fig 40 p. 77 n. 11 and 184 p. 346 n. 7; dated to the 11th century; it is a circular cruciform equal arms object with a total length of 5,3 cm. In the middle we have a semi-sphere, whose convex face is decorated by a half-circle in relief, including a point, a screw roundel or a small cruciform prominence. The same pattern appears on the cross arms. The bigger roundel of the centre circumscribes a rosette. On the concave back opposite to the cruciform are preserved 5 small trimming nails, through which the passage of thongs could be fixed. On the asiatic-nomad origin of these cruciform asiatic fittings see Fettich N., *Die Metallkunst der Landnehmenden Ungarn*, in Archeologia Ungarica XXI, Budapest 1937 pp. 204-208 and pls. XXI-XXIII-XXV- XCVII.

172 Vetnic S., *Medieval weapons and implements deriving from the Middle Morava basin*, in Balcanoslavica 10, 1983, p. 152 fig. 8; dated to the 10-11th century; it has got the form of a double eight and rosette in the middle. Size 6x3,5 cm.

173 Stefan-Barnea-Cosma, *Dinogetia,*p. 347 and fig 184 p. 346 n. 14; dated to the 11-12th centuries, it is a little bit bigger (6,8 cm.) than that cruciform represented on the *antilìna*; it can be compared to it however it differs formally and functionally. Similar specimens in Pletnyeva S.A., *Pecheneghs, Turks and Polovskji in South-Russian Steppes*, in Trudy Volgo-Donskoi Archeologiskegoj Ekspedicii, I, Materialy i issledovanije po archeologii URSS, 62, Moscow 1958 p. 159 and figg. 4/1, 2 ; Pletnyeva S.A., *Nomadic Graves in Sarkel-Belaja-Veia*, in Trudy Volgo-Donskoi Archeologiskegoj Ekspedicii, III, Materialy i issledovanije po archeologii URSS, 62, Moscow 1963, 109, pp. 216-259, p. 255 and figg. 27/4,5 Artamonov, *Sarkel-Belaja-Veia*, p. 77-82 and fig. 57.

174 In the Skilitzés we have such a large representation of different kind of harness decoration, it is difficult to attribute the use of a single specimen to a part or any other part of the harness.

period was very effective and variously embellished. Since the end of the 6th century, mainly under the influence from Steppe Peoples[175], it was composed of a principal wood-framed body leather covered, with protection of the animal spine by means of a hollow chamber from front to rear of the saddle, and with a raised frontal and a half raised back (*kourbe*)[176]. To the leather cover were fastened, by means of buckles (κωμποσια)[177], the straps of *Antilìna*, *Postilìna* and of belly-bands (***fig. 9 n. 18***)[178].

The belly-band buckles (***fig.9 n. 18***) of the horse are iron specimens found in nomadic graves in Crimea[179]. Nomadic soldiers in that region were often employed as mercenaries in the Roman Army since the 4th century, so that in the central century of the Middle Age Byzantium the system of the horsemanship and the harness fittings was virtually the same of the nomadic allies.[180] Any difference lays in the artwork of the items pertinent to the East-Roman commonwealth[181].

The saddle itself was covered by a strong, large and big cloth (*epìsellion*)[182], often covered by richly embroidered material *(kapoulion*).[183]

The Skilitzès manuscript is evidence for the use of stirrups amongst East-Roman cavalrymen[184]. From their

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[175] Haldon J., Warfare, *State and Society in the Byzantine world*, London 1999 p. 130 ; Nicolle D., *Attila*, p. 29; Nicolle D., *Medieval warfare source book, II,* London 1996, p. 38.

[176] *Strategikon*, I, 2, 94 ; s. Pertusi A., *Ordinamenti militari dei Bizantini*, in Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, XV, Spoleto, 1968, p. 668.

[177] Pseudo-Kodinos, III, p. 170 ed. Verpeaux.

[178] Εμπροσθελιναι, s. Digenis Akritas, IV, 377 ; the system is derived from Steppe Peoples, as shown in the contemporary Nomadic graves of Turkish people regularly engaged as mercenaries in East-Roman service, as the Khazars. See Nicolle, *Attila*, p. 16, saddle of Malaja Perescepina, made in Byzantium, second half of 7th century ; Ambros A. K., *The stirrups and the saddles of Dark Ages as chronological index*, IV-VIII centuries, in Sovietskaja Arheologjia 4, 1973, pp. 81-98 and fig. 2, in russian ; Laszlo, *Etudes*, pp. 277-281.

[179] Various, *Dal 1000 al 1000, Tesori e popoli dal Mar Nero,* Milano 1995, p. 222 fig. 19; the items are coming from a Pecheneg grave.

[180] The illustration of Codes shows us the same system of saddlery, stirrups and harnesses both for Bulgarian, East-Roman and Slav warriors; see Skilitzès *folios* 19*r* (Romans and Bulgarians), 108*v* (Bulgarians and Hungarians), 171*r* (Romans and Russians), in Bozhkov, The miniatures, pp. 29, 64, 109. On the employment of Steppe warriors in East-Roman armies as mercenaries s. Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, pp. 23, 38-39 ; Toynbee, *Costantine*, 554-557 ; Heath, *Armies of Dark Ages*, p. 9.

[181] The rich decoration of some archaeological military items found in Nomadic Graves, similar in style and decoration to different objects found in the territory directly subject to the East-Roman Sovereignty, characterises its East-Roman origin; see for example the precious belt of Madara, coming from a Bulgarian grave, conventionally ascribed to a East-Roman laboratory of 9-10th century, see Miatev K., *Altbulgarischer Goldschmuck aus Madara*, in Bulletin de l'Institut d'Archeologique Bulgare de Sophia, n. IV, 1926-1927 pp. 14-26 and pl. II; see the 11-12th cent. helmet of Nemiya preserved in Debrecen Museum, found in a Pecheneg grave but of East-Roman origin following Nicolle D., *Hungary and the fall of the Eastern Europe*, London 1988 p.11; idem for the helmet of Verkhne-Ychenkov, preserved in the Rostov Museum, s. Nicolle, *Armies of the Crusades 1059-1359*, p. 278 and. fig. 709; particularly this helmet should be compared with the helmet of a Roman cavalryman in *folio* 19r of Scylitzes mentioned above; it is interesting to note that the helmet of Nemiya follows the scheme of the 12th century helmet show on the Digenis Akritas portrait in the pottery from the Agora of Athens, and of a 12th cent. cavalryman from the Codex Athos Vatopedi, see Kolias, *Waffen*., pls. V, 2 and XX, 3.

[182] Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 9.

[183] Digenis Akritas, IV, 237. The illustrations found in the codes reveals a wide variety of these *kapoulia*. Cfr. for instance Kolias, *...απ'των καστρων*, pp. 8, 9, 16, 28, 36.

[184] Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 41and figg. 14, 25, 29, 30, 33 ; s. also a better detail of folio 54v in Bozhkov, *The Miniatures*, p. 49.

introduction by the Avars in 6th century[185] to the last days of the Empire they were called σκαλαι[186]. The specimen here used (**Plate 1A and *fig.9 n. 16***) has been copied from Bulgaro-Byzantine examples found in Madara[187], for its similarity with those of ***fig. 3***. *Skalai* were protruding from the anterior part of the saddle, passed through a strap by means of their upper hole[188].

The use of spurs is well attested in literature as well as in military treatises[189], and in the miniatures of the Skilitzés.[190] Since the Caesarian age there is uninterrupted archaeological evidence for the use of spurs by Roman cavalrymen[191], and East-Roman 10th – 11th century specimens have been found in Pacului Lui Soare[192].

Horseshoes were used by East-Roman cavalry (***fig.9 n. 17***) specimens of which were found in Pacului Lui Soare[193]. Similar pieces come from Dinogetia and Cocon, and also other, fragmentary and sometimes still with nails attached, were found nearby in Seuthopolis and Pliska[194].

Hoffmeyer has tried a graphical reconstruction of different kinds of σελλοχαλινα from the Skilitzès[195]. Maniakes saddle, covered in the miniature by a green blocked cloth[196], has been copied in these reconstructions (**plate 1A and *fig. 9***). We

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185 S. Haldon, *Military Technology*, p. 22 note 57 ; Haldon, *Warfare*, p. 130 ; Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare*, 38.

186 Maurikios, *Strategikon*, I, 2, 41 ; Leo, *Taktika*, V, 10 ; Du Cange, Glossarium, col. 1378.

187 Feher, *Les monuments*, p. 76. They are probably relative to the Bulgarian war of Basil II and they find exactly correspondence in some type showed in manuscripts from 10th centuries onwards. See for instance the 11th cent. ivory ikon of Saint George in Kiew, in Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 9 ; the Cod.Ath.Ephigmenu 14 fol. 417r, in *Treasures*, II, fig. 405 p. 251; the Skilitzès *folio* 113v, in Von Falkenhausen, *I Bizantini*. I have worked with a scanner on the image of the miniature. The type is flat, very arched.

188 Cfr. the reconstruction of saddlery in Ambros, *The stirrups*, fig. 2 ; Laszlo, *Etudes*, fig. 85.

189 *Pternistéria*: see Digenis Akritas, IV, 227 ; Leo, *Taktika*, VI,4 ; Pseudo-Konstantinos-Nikephoros Ouranos, *Taktika*, p.14.

190 Es. Skilitzès Matritensis *folios* 43*r*, 178*r*, 224*v*, in Von Falkenhausen-Cavalli, cit., figg. 24, 36, 428.

191 For classical roman spurs see Junkelmann, *Die Reiters Rom*, III, Mainz 1992, pp. 98-100 figg. 2, 4, 53.

192 It is a singular straight iron arms specimen 14 cm. long, with rectangular section and wide arc. At a meeting point starts horizontally a bar 2,2 cm. long, which ends in the middle of a triangular pyramidal prominence 1 cm. long. One of the arms, integrally preserved, is lightly curved towards the top and extends vertically towards the ends, where two circular apertures to fasten the thongs were provided. Typologic on the basis of a more adequate and extended analog of the spur should be dated between the last 10th cent. and the beginning of 11th cent. See Diaconu-Vilceanu, cit., pp. 144-145, fig. 107/4 and pl.22/3. Other specimen of the same period found in East-Roman context (Karatas) is published by Jancovic M., *Implements and weapons from 9th - 11th centuries*, in Balcanoslavica 10, 1983, pp. 55-69, p. pl. IV n. 9.

193 Idem, p. 147, pl. 20 n. 3,6 p. 213. There were discovered two similar iron specimens, almost well preserved, whose form and dimension for the first time induce us to consider them as real horseshoes, which normally are wider with apertures to put them on. The specimens present a oval form which lightly widens towards the inside ends. Their thickness is 3 mm.; their length respectively 9,3 and 8,9 mm.; their width, 1,5 and 1,2 mm. at the linking point of arms which are thinner at ends. One of the two has come down to us with crumpled arms on the vertical line. Both preserve on the back two nails to fasten it at the hoof heel. We should at this point remember that the hooves of Maniakes horses, at the battle of Troina, were equipped with metal plates and shoes, s. Felix, *Byzanz*, p. 210 und bibliography in note 68 ;

194 For Dinogetia cfr. Barnea, *Dinogetia*, fig. 40/20 ; for Seuthopolis s. Cangova J., *La cité médiévale au dessus des ruines de la ville Thrace de Seuthopolis,* Sofia 1972, p. 90 fig. 72; for Pliska cfr. Mihailov S., *Pliska*, 1945-1947, p. 181 fig. 12/2.

195 Hoffmeyer, *Byzantine Equipment*, cit. fig. 14.

196 The reference cloth, with geometric and foliate motifs, is published in Malthusius, *Byzantine silk.*, p. 217, pl.29a.

can observe that they are almost all of the types furnished with a supporting cantle, normally associated with the straight-legged position of the rider. This position, with the help of a curb control, favourished the use of the couched spear, in the manner of western knights, which we can see used by the East Roman warriors in some battle scenes in the *Matritensis*.[197] The East Roman Cataphract, enclosed in his armour, could easily manage his weapons based upon the better stability offered by the *skalai*.

B) Officer of Varangian Guard

We should now look if we can find some references about the army of Maniakes in the artistical sources other than from the *Skilitzès Matritensis*. Among the troops of Maniakes were also Varangian Guardsmen, the best mercenary Russian-Scandinavian èlite who fought for the Empire in this period[198]. They were famous for their loyalty to the Emperor as much for their inclination to wine, as for their bravery and ferocity in battle[199]. The mythical Araltes, Harald Haardrada Sigurdson, 23 years old, is here (**plate 1B**) represented in senior East-Roman uniform. The same hero died later as King of the Norway in the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066) against the Anglo-Saxons[200].

A reconstruction of a Varangian Officer in East-Roman armour could be based on the famous reliquary, which was in the Reich Capelle and now is preserved in the Glyptothek of Munchen. This represents the scene of the Crucifixion of our Lord (**Fig. 10**)[201]. By the cross stand the Virgin, St. John and Longinus; in the foreground three soldiers rend the seamless garment, while above are four busts of weeping angels in clouds, and the sun and the moon. This book-cover, a enamel of cloisonné variety, is sometimes dated to the 12th century[202], but

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[197] S. for example Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XXVI n. 3, XXIX, XXX n. 2 ; on the argument s. also Haldon, *Warfare*, p. 133 ; Nicolle D., *The impact of the European couched lance on muslim military tradition*, in The Journal of the Arms and Armour society 10, 1980, pp. 6-40 ; Kolias, Νικηφορος Β Φοκας, 963–969, Athens 1993, on the military reforms of the Emperor relative to the armament of the Καταφρακτοι and the adoption of new war thecnology.

[198] For a general history of the Varangian Guard see Blöndal, *The Varangians*; the old work of Vasil'evskij V.G., *Variago-russkaja i variago-anglijskaja druzina v Konstantinopole*, Trudy I; Dendias M.A., Οι Βαραγγοι και το Βυζαντιον, Athens 1925 ; for the source of the recruitment see also Walker G., *Kiev and the supplies of Norse Mercenaries to Constantinople*, 838-1043 AD, in Varangian Voice n. 37 november 1995, pp. 3-5.; for the partecipation of the Guard at the Campaign in Sicily see bibliography quoted in note 16 above.

[199] About the loyalty of the Varangians see Anna Komnena, *Alexiadis*, II, 9, and Du Cange *commentarii* p. 462; for their bravery in battle see Niketas Choniates, I, 5; for the terrible reputation of these guardsmen see the interesting poem of Michael Glykas (12th cent.) about his terrible experience in the prisons of the Palace, mentioned in Paspates-MetCalfe, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, London, 1893 : *"...bonds and tortures, and guards and towers, and the shouting βαρρανγοι..."* ; s. Beatson P., *Relics of Varangians III*, in Varangian Voice 57, February-May 2001, pp. 16-20 ; and for a summary Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, 14-17.

[200] About Harald and his role in the Campaign see Bibliography quoted in note 16 above. About his life see his Chronicle, on *Heimskringla*. On the Harald life s. Blondal, *The Varangians*, pp. 55-101.

[201] See Wessel, *Die Byzantinische Emailkunst,* pl.15 ; Dalton, Byzantine art and archaeology, p. 524 and bibliography in note 2.

[202] Cfr. Nicolle, *Arms & Armour*, fig. 50 p. 40.

the style of the enamel in comparison with similar artworks[203] and the scheme of the composition could not exclude a mid 11th century date. The treatment of the suffering body of Our Lord prevents could be attributed to an earlier period, as opposed to the later date proposed by Schlumberger.

Here, the Roman *Centurio* Longinus is represented dressed in an senior East Roman Guardsman's dress of the 11th cent., highly decorated and fully armoured. The device of the shield of the warrior, as well as his northern aspect and some parts of his dress, suggest to me that we should follow the interpretations of other authors who identify him as a Varangian Officer in senior uniform[204]. Of course the attribution to Harald Haardrada of this uniform is purely hypothetical, but we can suppose in any case that a Varangian Officer would wear this kind of dress and armour also on campaign, obviously with the necessary ammendments due to the use of such equipment in the field. In some sources it is said that Harald wore East-Roman armour, called *Emma* ; but this armour, which protected him down to the calves, should be a mail coat, even though made in Byzantium[205]. This is important as well, because it shows us that Varangians were equipped with East-Roman armoury, so that their commanders would have looked sometimes as Roman Officers in their peculiar military garb.

The helmet (κασ(σ)ιδιον, κασσις,)[206]is missing in the reliquary image, but we have reconstructed it (**plate 1B**) as a segmented *spangen-helm* [207]with reinforcing bossed plates; is of the type of the directly riveted frameless *spangen-helm*, a form of helmet - beside the conical one piece - shown in the artistic source of the middle Byzantine period as in dotation to the East-Roman warriors[208]. The helmet is conical-shaped, slightly

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203 Cfr. Bank, *Byzantine art*, figg. 186-189 pp. 364-365, Reliquary of the True Cross.
204 See Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, cit., p. 26.
205 Blondal, *The Varangians*, p. 184 and note1.
206 The word, from the latin *cassis*, is the typical one, even if not the sole, used to design the helmet in 10-11th Greek Medieval sources: see Leo *Taktika*, VI, 2; Nikephoros *Praecepta militaria,*III,34; Pseudo-Konstantinos-Nikephoros Ouranos *Taktika*, p. 4; see also Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 75-77.
207 The segmented helm was introduced in the Roman Army from the end of first century under the influence of Sarmatians and Dacians, as well by its use by Eastern Auxiliaries; it was composed of laminated plates converging to an apex closed by a band-rim on the top and on the edge; see James S., *Evidence from Dura Europos for the origins of Late Roman helmets*, in Doura Europos Studies, Geuthner 1986 pp. 113-117; its general use both for Cavalry and infantry is already attested on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, also if its widespread use is well attested in the army of the Justinian Age, where beautiful Roman specimens have been found in Frankish and Alamann graves, as well on the battlefields of western and Eastern Europe - see Die Franken, *Wegbereiters Europas*, Mainz 1996, pp. 262-263 fig. 193 and p. 303 fig. 243 ; Musée du Louvre, *Byzance, L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris 1992-1993 pp.124-125 fig. 74 ; helmet of 615 AD coming from the Roman Fortress of Heraclea Lyncestis, decorated with the image of Christ and apostles, s. Werner J., *Nuovi dati sull'origine degli spangenhelme altomedioevali del tipo Baldenheim, in XXXVI corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna, 1989, pp. 419-430 fig. 2.
208 Nicolle D., *Byzantine and Islamic arms and armours, evidence for mutual influence*, in Graeco-Arabica, IV, Athens, 1991, pp. 299-325, p. 308-309. Beautiful specimens of 8th cent., may be of East-Roman origin, have been found in Bohemia : cfr. Hejdova D., *Early medieval helmets*, in Sbornik Narodniho Muzea V Praze, XVII, 1964, pp. 41-91 and pls. XI-XII (for the find of this precious article and for very beautiful photos of the originals I must express my deep gratitude to the Dr.Evzenie Snaidrova of the National Museum in Praha); an archaeological specimen may from

prominent in forward, with the inner part furnished with a leather lining, with nape protection in *cuir-bouilli* aventail of straps sewn to the inner lining. This kind of aventail protection, made of curtain of lamels for neck and shoulders, is may be identified with the *peritrachilion* mentioned in the sources[209] ;this protection is usually worn from both infantry and cavalrymen in the Skilitzés and it is represented as characteristic of a lot of helmets in miniatures, illuminated manuscripts and ivory icons of the middle period, since the 9th cent.[210]. The reconstruction in **plate 1B** is based on the helmet worn by one of the soldiers represented in the same cloisonné of ***fig. 10***, gambling with dices for the robe of Christ. The colour of the helmet is dark blue, meaning a steel segmented helmet, and the protection of the neck is invariably represented with such an aventail : the aventail is painted hovewer of the same blue colour of the helmet. So, at less that we don't want interpret it as a merely artistic use of the colour, we can suppose that the leather of the original model was blue painted, or even that all the helmet was painted in the same colour[211].

Under the helmet our man wears headgear typical of Levantine shape, probably a head-dress in the form of a padded hood (*koukoulion*, from the latin *cucullum*)[212] silk covered, serving as support for the helmet. This typical headgear is often associated with the *centurio* Longinus in Byzantine art of 10-12thcent., also if the equipment shown on the single figures is different in any circumstance[213]. My personal opinion is that this kind of silk covered linen or cloth headgear (a kind of

Byzantium of 10-11th centuries has been found in Russia, published by Kirpicnikov A.I., *Die Russische Waffen des 9-15 Jahrhunderts*, in *Waffen und Kostümkunde*, Wien, 1986/2, pp.101-102 pl. XIV fig. I; and Nicolle D., *Armies of the medieval Russia*, London 1999, p. 35; artistic sources and miniatures of many manuscripts show illustrations of segmented helmets of that type; see for example the helmet of the warrior on a ivory panel from Dresden, in Weizmann K., *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1964, f. 19 ; the miniatures of 12th cent. cod. Athos Vatop. 760, fol. 265v, 286r, in Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XX 2/3 ; *folios* 360v,366*r,*367*r* of 12th cent. Vatop.Octateuch, in Huber, *Bild und Botschaft,* figg. 84, 91-92-93.

209 The heavier and best warriors wore helmets with aventails, made of leather, cotton or felt ; Leo, *Taktika*, V, 4 ; *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38, 5 ; Pseudo-Konstantinos/Nikephoros Ouranos, *Taktika*, p. 11 ; s. Haldon, *Military technology*, pp. 37-38 note 6 ; Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, p. 71 ; Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 76-77, 79-80.

210 S. for instance Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. VII/2, XXIV/1,2, XXV, XXVI/1, XXVII/1 (the famous *folio* 26*v* of Scylitzes, representing Varangian Guardsmen), XXVIII, 2 ; Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, pp. 11, 31-37 ; Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, figg. 7-12-13-25/27-29.

211 The Skylitzès shows some example of painted conical helmets, s. *folios* 148*r,*186*v,* in Bozhkov, *The Miniatures*, figg. 52,81. We should remember that also in West the helmets were painted as well, s. the Bayeux Tapestry, in McSetton K., *900 years ago : the Norman conquest*, in National Geographic August 1966, pp. 206-251.

212 S.Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 727.

213 S. for example the crucifixion at Karanlik Kilise, Goreme, Kappadokia, 11th cent., in Jerphanion, *Les Eglises.,* pl. 100, where the *centurio* wear a similar but more reduced headgear; the crucifixion in Nea Moni Katholikon, 11th cent., where the represented Longinus has been identified by some authors as a Varangian, s. Mouriki, *The mosaics*, pls. 38-39 and p. 131; a 12th cent. ivory panel of the Crucifixion in Hermitage., s. Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XIV, 3 ; and the interesting *centurio* painted in the 12th century crucifixion of the *Katholikon* of the *Panaghia Mavriotissa*, Kastoria, where this headgear looks like a cap, s. Pelekanidis, *Kastoria*, p. 75.

φακεολις) was worn by Officers, associated with the ηκατονταρκος[214] or similar rank in other regiments[215].

Such kind of hood was probably linked back behind the nape with a knock[216]; in the source the thongs joining it, stitched upon its extrem lemb, are hanging over the linen damask cloak. So we have reconstructed it loosen (**plate 1B**), richly embroidered on the upper part. Silk embroidered helmet covers or cloth helmets belongs to an East-Roman military tradition dating from beginning of the 7th century, probably due to the influence of Sassanid Persians and Steppe People[217].

The mantle of the man, in the cloisonné of Munchen (***fig. 10***), is deep blue with a purple borders, internal blue lining and gold-red *agrafhes*. The cloak (*chlamis*) was typical for all officers[218] but this one is enriched by a purple edge which reveals to us the very high status of the owner. The Varangians loved such things, as is revealed by a description of the Varangian Bolli Bollason returning to Scandinavia from Constantinople : "*....He wore cloths of velvet which the Emperor had given him, and over them a cloak of fine red cloth ; at his side he bore his sword Fòtbìtr (footbiter) ; his hilt was inlaid with gold, and so was the blade ; he wore a golden helmet and had a red shield at his side on which was drawn a knight in gold (which he had brought from Byzantium)...*"[219] At breast height the cloak of our officer was probably decorated by a square cloth embroidery (*tablion*)[220] stitched upon it, inside which we

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[214] 100 men's commander, the old Roman centurion, in 10th cent. vice-commander of the military unit called *Vàndon* : Leo, *Taktika*, IV, 11 ; in *Praecepta Militaria* I, 1, commander of 100 men in his infantry κουντουβερνιον ; idem in *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, I, 1, in McGeer, Showing..., p. 89, and idem, p. 204, 266-267, 333.

[215] Ian Heath speaks of a association of this kind of headgear with the Jews in Byzantine art. It is true that in a lot of processions representing the entry of Jesus in Jerusalem the notables of the city wear a very similar head dress but this does not mean that it is an identification of the Jews in the Eastern Empire. In any case in the representation of Longinus we have an image of a Roman Officer so that any link with the Jews is out. See Heath, *Byzantine armies*, p. 26.

[216] Cfr. Heath I., *Armies and Enemies of the Crusades*, 1096-1291, WRGP, Worthing, 1978, p. 98.

[217] For silk helmets cover see the warriors represented on the 7th David Plates from Cyprus representing the clash among David and Goliath, cfr. Nicolle D., *The Battle of Yarmuk 636*, London 1994 pp. 18-19; the 10th century Joshua represented on the fresco of Cavusin, see note 71 above; the cover of the helmets worn by Jewish soldiers in the Vatican Gr. 333 *folio* 36*v*, 11th century, in Lassus J., *L'illustration*, fig. 69.; for silk headgear covering a probable felt padded protection worn without helmet s. the *πρωτοσπαθαριοι* eunuchs represented in the fragment of ivory casket in Munchen, in Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. IX, 2; the archers in a 10th cent. fresco from Aghios Eustachios, Kappadokia, in Grabar, *Bisanzio, L'arte bizantina del Medioevo dall'VIII al XV secolo*, Milano 1964, p. 149; the Alan and Turkish warriors of Caucasus were wearing such a headgear since the 8th century see Nicolle, *Attila and the Nomad Hordes*, pp. 60-61 and plate H1; for under helmets hoods worn by Sassanians warriors see Nicolle, *Sassanian Armies*, p. 43 pl. E3; Nicolle, *Byzantine and Islamic*, p. 311 and figures.

[218] See notes 62 and 131 above.

[219] In the *Laxdala Saga* ; s. Blondal, *The Varangians*, pp. 206-207.

[220] The ταβλιον (from latin *tabula*) was a decorative squared cloth application to the mantle of officers and dignitaries, since from the Constantine age. It was a symbol of the rank and made of different colour and design, from the Emperor to the last dignitary. It was made of precious cloth often embroidered, sometimes interwoven with golden thread. See Wessel, *Insignien*, for the imperial ταβλιον, pp. 427-428; for officers ταβλια of this age see the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, pp. 95, 127, 133 and n. 98 ; *De Cer.*, I, 440;Reiske, *Commentarii de Cerimoniis*, pp. 44, 107, 228, 471-472 ; Ebersolt, *Mélanges*, pp. 55-56 ; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1520. For a beautiful representation of the *tablion* of imperial officer in 10-11th century s. Aghios Philadelphos in the Menologium of Basil II, in Ravegnani G., *La corte di Bisanzio*, Rimini 1984, fig. 29 p. 64.

have imagined a peacock interwoven in natural colours (**plate 1B**)[221]. Blue could be indicative of an officer linked with the blue faction of the city: but, formally, the Varangians were initially under the control of an *Akolouthos* belonging to the Imperial *Vighla* or *Arithmòs*, one of the regiments of the *Tāghmata*, not normally associated, as *Skholaì*, and the infantry *Noùmeroi* were, with the white and blue factions[222]. It is interesting to remark, however, that also the soldiers gambling for the clothes of Christ, in the Munchen Enamel, are wearing blue tunics or *chitones* [223]: the blue colour of the mantle could be associated with these, while the officer could be easy distinguished by his men from his purple *himation*. The supposition that soldiers in their unit were distinguished by different colours finds support in the military manuals about distinctive colours of lance-pennons, plumes, shields and standards ; and we can suppose that the metropolitan regiments were better distinguished by tunic and mantle colours[224].

In Romania, the city of Dinogetia has revealed some very interesting military finds and dress elements, some of them related to the passage of the Varangians who came to *Miklagard* (Constantinople) through the Black Sea[225]; among those a *fibula* of typical Russian-Scandinavian shape[226] for cloak (***fig. 11 n. 25***). We can suppose the use of similar shaped *fibula* also for the mantle of our man, bearing in mind that such φιβλια were used to fasten to the mantle a bigger ring.

The cotton or coarse silk tunics used by the warrior (*himation*)[227] shown in the miniature cuffs and borders with gold thread interwoven[228] ; so this specimen has along the borders a

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[221] The peacock was for the early Christians a symbol of eternal life; in the Christian Empire its iconographical use is immense since the fourth century, as well as in military fields; see for example the 7th cent. shield of San Romano and other fragments of shields, in.Von Hessen O., *Secondo contributo alla archeologia Longobarda in Toscana*, Firenze, 1965 pp. 40-41 and plates 7, 9, 14 ; the decoration on the pants of the christian soldier found in Koln in 1121, s. note 138 above; the 6th century peacock buckle found in Sardegna, published in Daim, *Die Awaren*, pp. 115-116. In a no military context see the dress of the Imperial Household embroidered with peacocks, *De Cer.* I, 128.

[222] See *Kletorologhion* of Philòtheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, pp. 110 n. 68, 115, 159 and 331 ; *De Cer.*, II, 523-524 ; Reiske, *Commentarii*, p. 606.

[223] It was used in the meaning of tunic : s. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 1752; *De Cer.*, II, 710 ; Reiske, *Commentarii*, p. 466;

[224] Cfr. Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 18, 19, 25; *Sylloge Tacticorum* 38, 2 ; see also *De Cer.* II, 579, 590 about the white mantles of all the four Taghmatic regiments ; and s. note 112 above ; many work should be still do on this subject.

[225] See Stefan-Barnea, *Dinogetia*, pp. 299-302.

[226] Idem, p. 299 and p. 295 fig. 173 n. 27; there are of foliate shape, with decorations incised.

[227] *De Cer.*, II, 677-678 lists the different kind of *himatia* used by the army in the expedition against Crete in 949; among the others we found the ιματια κουκουλαρικα (i.e. made from coarse silk as the κρεμασματα) and the ιματια βαμβακερα (made of cotton) ; this kind of tunic was worn by the soldiers under armour, but we can not exclude that such tunics (for the material which composed them) are the undercuirass garments provided by hanging κρεμασματα, in the old-Roman style, bearing in mind that the material of the construction is the same mentioned for hanging strips by *Praecepta Militaria* III, 4, 26-31.

[228] The embroidery represents often small vegetal patterns, belonging to the kind of decoration called ριζαι. When the tunic was variegated and distinguished by small golden leaves and branches figures (ιματιον φυλλοιs και κλαδοιs πεποικιλμενον) we can use properly the term χρυσοχλαδαρικα or χρυσοκλαδα (*De Cer.* I, 82). If the patterns were interlaced or made of various wefts with needlework and embroidery they were called ριζαι "roots"; it was

gold interwoven embroidery (χρυσοχλαβos[229]) ; these cuffs, heavily embroidered and decorated also with pearls, applied separately on the wrist and on the lower edges of the tunic, could be recycled for other dresses, like the ταβλιον and the cloak's embroidery[230].

The cuirass (***fig. 11 n. 26,29***) looks in the enamel as if it is either lamellar or scale κλιβανιον of Greek-hellenistic fashion[231], i.e with a slightly muscled shaped base. We have reconstructed it as scale armour with 10 rows of quadrangular iron *lamellae* (πεταλα)[232], applied at the front and at the back with a double anchorage system, and placed it on a leather old-Roman fashion corselet; the πεταλα[233] were fastened directly on the leather base by means of leather-laces going through the two parallel holes of each *lamella*, so as to form overlapped rows of iron arranged as roof tiles. The leather body presents borders of coarse silk, cotton and hardened leather with small tongues (*cymation* or κρεμασματα) and felt strips (πτερυγεs-καβαδια–κρεμασματα) hanging from sleeves and waist. The cuirass is formed by two compact valves (at front and back) with openings on both sides and shoulders linked by straps closed through metallic hooks (***fig.11 n. 27-28***)[234].

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typical for all East-Roman history, and performed by experts in this kind of magnificent artwork. S. See Du Cange *Commentarii* Pseudo Codinus pp. 221 f. and the following note.

229 Litterally: the golden *clavus*. *Clavi* were stripes worn by Roman soldiers, dignitaries, officers, on tunics and dresses, and the material used as well the extravagante preciousness was indicative of rank. The golden stripes were reserved for senior officers but were also a prerogative of people who could afford to buy them; the work was realised by specialist workers in Constantinople, called χρυσοκλαδαριοι. Cfr. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, p. 133 and note 99 ; p. 170 note 153, about the σπεκια (kind of military tunics) χρυσοχλαδα of the Imperial Guardsmen mentioned in *De Cer.* I, 82 ; p. 317. In the work of Theophanes, I, 469, is mentioned the destruction by fire of the laboratory of these workers in the third year of Constantine the 6th (25 december 792). S. Du Cange commentarii Pseudo Codinus pp. 221 f. ; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1769 ; A very fine specimen of the 11th golden thread for tunic or mantle coming from Byzantium is preserved in Saint Petersburg Hermitage and published in Various, *Byzantine Art in CCCP collections*, Moscow 1977, 2 vol., in Russian, fig. 671 p. 131-132.

230 As in the late Roman Empire: s. Mcdowell S., *Late Roman Cavalryman*, 236-565 AD, London 1995, p. 53; *Antinoe, 100 anni dopo*, pp. 189, 219ff.

231 Mrs. Hoffmeyer distinguished among two types of support for the scale/lamellar armour: the eastern one, without exterior signs of Greco-Roman heritage, and the Hellenistic one, with slightly muscled accent and lambrequins on the shoulders and under the waist. See Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, pp. 56-63 and our note n. 72 above.

232 If the choice of the reconstruction has been had the lamellar one, we should reconstruct the armour as a purely lamellar κλιβανιον (with *lamellae* looking upwards) superposed to an half-anatomical *zoupa*. This was the undercorselet for excellence in middle Byzantine period, made of linen and cotton, as mentioned by Achmet, *Oneirokriticon*, 225, p. 177. S. also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 466. The word gives origin to the word *giubba* or *giubbone* in italian language, as distinctive military dress, a padded protection worn by soldiers in modern times. A good specimen of lamellar corselet worn over a *zoupa* is visible in the warriors of the Hermitage Tryptikon, s. Bank, *Byzantine art*, fig. 126. I must thank Dr. Dawson for the note of this detail. The fact that **fig. 10** shows black strips among the rows of the *lamellae* suggests the presence of leather, and is indicative of a lamellar construction of this armour, made by lamellar rows which each row separated by the backing leather. About *Zoupa* cfr. also Dawson, *Suntagma Hoplon*, note 10.

233 The prototypes used in our reconstruction are published in Vitlyanov, *The old Bulgarian armament*, pl. XXVIII fig. 19 ; they are 3cm. of lenght.

234 The buckles and the hooks used are from specimens from Garvan-Dinogetia, s. Stefan-Barnea, *Dinogetia*, pp. 295, 297-298 figg. 173 nn. 17-18 ; the first of these specimen (3x2 cm.) belongs to the so called "lyre" type, and archaeologists adscribe his origin into the Russian-Byzantine commonwealth ; similar specimens were found in Pliska and dated to the 11th century after the period of the East-Roman conquest, cfr. Stantchev S., *Fouilles et materiaux*

What looks more interesting in the Munchen Enamel is the alternate colour of the *lamellae*, which is gold and blue. This aspect suggests to me that the rows of πεταλα were sometimes done with the an alternate use of iron and gilded scales, especially for imperial Guardsmen, so that a very decorative look was added to its effective protection. The use of alternate rows of iron and golden *lamellae* is attested by other cloisonné works made in Byzantium or under East-Roman influence until the XV century[235]. With regards to gilded κλιβανια worn by Imperial Guardsmen and *Thágmata* we have an explicit mention in *De Cer.* 506, and in East and Near East culture since from ancient times we have the traces of alternate use of golden and iron *lamellae* or scales on the same corselet[236]. There are reasons to suppose, on the base of the mentioned sources, the same for Byzantine picked troops. This kind of κλιβανια should form part of those κλιβανια στιλπνα και λαμπρα (*splendid and shining lamellar corselets*) provided for best men[237].

In the Munchen Enamel the whole structure of the armour is tightly held by the officer's sash called λωρos or λωριον in the sources[238]. For a more practical use of the armour on campaign, we have, in our reconstruction, replaced the sash with a leather shoulder reinforcement harness (***fig. 11 n. 29***), furnished with two straps going over each shoulder, connecting the front-back of the breast strap, linked at armpits height by

nouvellement découvert à Pliska au cours de 1948, in Bulletin de l'Institut d'archéologie de Sophie, XX, 183-228, pp. 205-206, 226-227 and fig. 26/2 ; Georgieva-Pecheva, *Ancienne nécropole bulgare près de la ville de Lovetch*, in Idem, pp. 511-558 fig. 43 n. 5 ; the second specimen, of bronze and dated to the 11th century, belongs to the so-called slav oriental type, composed by a continous axis formed by two lateral arms which join themselves in a half-emispherical arch ; the use of such a buckles for the fastening of a cuirass is of course hypothetical, because we have not until today the proof of the use of it for armour fastening ; but the way of fasten the two valves of the base of the κλιβανιον on the shoulders is attested in the illumination of the *Skholàrios* Johannes mentioned in note 75 above.

235 See for example the Warriors represented in the Icon of Saint Michael in the treasure of Saint Mark Cathedral, Venise, s. Grabar, *Bisanzio*, p. 14; Werner-Forman, *Byzantium*, p.113; where the Archangel, who wears a golden κλιβανιον with decorative πεταλα, is represented as surrounded by other military Saints wearing lamellar Κλιβανια with alternate rows of blue and golden *lamellae*; for similar armour s. also Bank, *Byzantine Art*, pl. 187, where in the Reliquary of the True Cross Longinus is represented in the enamel of the Crucifixion with a similar armour, a similar shield device and a very similar uniform to the Munchen enamel; s. also, for the Georgia of XIV-XV century, the representation of the armoured Saint George, in Aminarasvili-Neubert, *Poklady Gruzie* (Exposition of Georgia), Praha 1971, in Bohemian, pp.140-141.

236 See for instance Egyptian lamellar armour, in Healy M., *New Kingdom Egypt*, London 1992, pl.G2; Scythian armour in Cernenko-Gorelik, *The Scythians*, London 1983, pl. H2 ; Parthian, Sogdian, Oguz, Atabeq and Mongol armour of II-XIII century, in Gorelik M.V., *Warriors of Eurasia*, pls. 3B, 6C, 9C, 13C and 14B.

237 Konstantinos-Nikephoros Ouranos *Taktika*, p. 14 ; Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 4.

238 See Du Cange *Glossarium*, col. 836-838 ; *De. Cer.* II, 574-576; here different colours of λωροι are provided for different guardsmen and officers: golden for *Magistroi*, silver for the Macedons of the Μεγαλη Εταιρεια; this could be indicative that the sashs were identificative of regiments or different ranks. About the *loros* s. Reiske, *Commentarii*, pp. 128, 282, 657-662, 746-747. This colour sash distinction finds its pendant in the sashes worn by Guardsmen and officers in the Menologion of Basil II. S., for instance, Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, pls. 140 (purple) ; 144 (yellow) ; 150 (light yellow with brown touch), 118, 137, 127, 157, 174, 182 (silver sash, may be Μακεδονες), pls.122, 157, 171 (green), 162 (white and red), 163 (scarlet), idem (light green with scarlet touches), 130, 144, 147, 151, 165, 194 (red), 171 (red with silver touches), 172 (golden blue), 131, 135, 173, 179, 187 (white), 179, 184 (gold) ; 180 (green with silver touches), etc...

laces, crossed on breast. It is the so-called Varangian *Bra*.[239] This chest harness is represented in a very large number of artistic sources of the middle period, as fitting of κλιβανια as well of other kinds of armour[240]. It was already used in Late Roman Times, and closed by small buckles joint with small rings on the frontal breast[241]. A major problem is the interpretation of the way of fastening in the middle Byzantine age, because the East-Roman sources do not mention such arrangements. My own personal opinion is that there were various methods in use. The system I reconstructed derives from the system suggest to me by Gamber, in his reconstruction of the Roman leather muscled armour of the Sutton Hoo burial ship[242]. A buckle strap end (***fig. 11 n. 30***),[243] found in Garvan, in Romania, really belonged to a Varangian Warrior, and could have been fastened and buckled at the centre of the *bra* back by a piece of strap. I would prefer such a position for the *bra* fastening buckle because less exposed at the danger of a enemy blow frontally directed which could loose the harness. A reference to the shoulder reinforcements is may in the passage described by Leo *Taktika*, V, 4, where, beside the mention of the κρινκελλοι or rings for the mail λωρικιον, he provides that armours should be held also by λωρια, i.e. straps. The transversal strap, stretched at front and back by two rings on both sides, or by a back horizontally fastened buckle, or sides laced under the armpits[244], holds tightly the κλιβανιον or other armours preventing it from moving during the battle.

The reconstructed sword (*spathion,* ***fig. 12***) is East-Roman, about 86 cm. long, and has been copied from the

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[239] See Wyley S., *The Chest Harness known as the Varangian Bra*, in Varangian Voice n. 28 pp. 29-30.

[240] See Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, pp. 31, 34, 35,36.

[241] See the 4th century Roman warrior shown in a mosaic of *Amazonomachia* from Antiochia, now in Louvre; I have the photo in my photographic archive. It was may be a armour harness derived from Sassanian Persians. See Nicolle, *Sassanian Armies*, pp. 18 fig. 11, 22 fig. 14, and pls. D1-F3; Wyley, *The Chest*, p. 29 ; Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, fig. 17.

[242] Gamber O., *The Sutton Hoo military Equipment, an attempted reconstruction*, in The Journal of The Arms and armours society, Vol. V, n. 6 june 1966, pp. 265-289 and pl. LVII.; Idem, *Kataphrakten, Klibanarier, Normannenreiter*, in "Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischer Sammlungen", Wien, 1968, p. 35 fig. 53.

[243] See Diaconu, *Dinogetia*, p. 299-300, fig. 173 n. 26 ; it is of gilded bronze, discovered in 1950 in the sector A of the city, and dated to 11th century ; its dimension are 0,046 x 0,016 m. ; a extremity is cut while the other is round shaped, may be to imitate an animal head. Over the convex face is executed, by pressing, a ornament tuft shaped, interlaced with another one arched, with symmetrical branches disposed longitudinally on a surface, with a internal decoration partially of animal, partially of vegetal aspect, typical of the Germanic Nord Europe and classified as of the II Germanic style. On the back two rivets were used to fixed an ornamental plaque to the strap.
This ornament, with Norman decoration, together with a sabre cross guard discovered in Gravan (s. p. 337), are classified by archaeologists as trade objects of Russo-Scandinavian origin passing through the so called "*road of the Varangians to the land of Greeks*", from the Baltic Sea to Constantinople. Garvan and Dinogetia were part of the *Thèma Paristion* and were land of passage and recruitment for the Varangians enroled as mercenaries in the East-Roman army. S. also Barnea N., *Preliminary reports of memorial stones of Besarabia*, in Dacia, VI, 1962, pp. 293-316, in russian, especially pp. 311-316.

[244] Cfr..alternative or cumulative hypothesis in *Byzantine Lamellar armour, Much Ado about bondage*, of Nicholson-Alaric of Lothian 1989-1990, on Internet, *A/Byzantine Lamellar armour.htm.*

original found on the Danube at Tekija (***fig.12 n. 33***)[245]; the two cutting edge sword was found in Romano-Byzantine context by the archaeologists and dated to the 10-11th cent. The exceptional similarity of the cross guard with those of ***fig. 10*** is another argument[246] to support the thesis of the East-Roman origin of the sword, an exceptional specimen very akin to those represented in other artistic works[247] of the period.

The hilt (λαβη, κωπη)[248] was covered with string, as in our reconstruction, to prevent the hand from slipping[249]; the sword was hung by a *váltidion*[250] worn in the Roman fashion[251], i.e. on the right shoulder, and attached to it by means of a suspension system combined with two rings attached to the scabbard wooden-leather sheath (*thèkarion*)[252]. The wooden scabbard, following the source of the enamel, seems have be covered by black (***fig. 12***) leather or velvet sheath[253] and reinforced with bronze or metallic mountings (silvered in ***fig. 10***) on its mouth, in its middle and at its end ; here, in the reconstruction, with a bronze chape 7 cm. long, copied from a specimen found in the Byzantine Cherson, the last stage of Varangians before Byzance (***fig.12 n. 34***)[254].

For the reconstruction of the pommel we have chosen the globular or circular shape, but it only one of the many forms that are presented in the sword representations of Byzantine art : following the classification of Mrs. Hoffmeyer[255] we could equally have semicircular or semispherical, trifoil, onion shaped, ring pommel, pommel shaped like upturned horns or even a flat, circular or lozange shaped plate in stead of the pommel[256]. It is

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[245] Jankovic, *Implements*, p. 58, 60, 66 and pl. IV n. 1 and note 9-10 p. 67- its total length is 0,86 m., 0,72 m. the length of the blade and 0,10 m. the handle. The cross guard is 0,09 m. length, width 0,03 m. and thick 0,01 m. The blade at the hilt measures 4,5 cm. and at the top 3,5 cm. Archaeologists found traces of a wooden sheath on the blade and of wooden plate on the lowest part of the hilt.

[246] S. Jancovic, *Implements* p. 60-66 and note 23-25; a similar sword was found near Vrsac and dated to the late 10th century, cfr. Vinski Z., *O primeni rentgenskih snimanja pri istrazivanju maceva*, in Vesnik Vojnog muzeia, 11-12, Beograd 1966, pp. 70-88.

[247] S. the swords of the Hermitage Tryptikon warriors in Bank, *Byzantine art*, 294 and pls. 123-127; s. also the icon of Saint Demetrius in Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 9; idem, pp. 13 (icon of Saint George and Demetrius), 15 (military Saints in Cherson) ; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, *folio* 166 *;* and see the sword held by Basil II in Cod. Marc. Gr. 17, in Werner-Forman, *Byzantium*, p. 31. On the base of this data and other numerous illustrations I perfectly agree with an origin in East-Roman workshops for this sword.

[248] *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38,5 ; 39,2.

[249] Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 143.

[250] From the latin *balteus*, s. *De Cer.* I, 144, II, 710-711; s. Reiske *Commentarii*, p. 830f.

[251] Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 2 ; s. Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 150 and notes.

[252] *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38,10 where the leather scabbards are explicity mentioned ; Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 148-149; we see this as the typical sword suspension system in many artistic works of the middle Byzantine period; s. *idem*, pls. XII, XIII, XVI/2, XIX; Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment*, fig.16 nn. 7-14-24-25; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, pls. 89, 91, 110, 117, 122, 126, 130, 132, 150, 184, 189.

[253] Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 148.

[254] Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Byzantine Cherson*, Moscow 1991, p. fig. 100 p. 101; notes the similarity among this specimen of 10th century and one found in Madara, see note 120 above.

[255] Hoffmeyer, *Military equipment*, pp. 95-97 ; see also Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 141.

[256] Mrs. Hoffmeyer did her classification basing upon the 12th cent. Scylitzès miniatures : but it is important to note that almost all the types of mentioned pommels are already visible on the swords of the 11th cent. Menologium of Basil II : s. for instance Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, Il Menologio, *folios* 358 (globular or circular) 167 (semicircular or

noteworthy in anycase that the sword shown in the enamel has got on the pommel a red-purple decorative tuft or *thouphion*: in the military manuals τουφια are prescribed for helmets[257] and horse harness[258], but not for swords ; in anycase we should remember that it could be a ornament reserved for the officers swords, and that at the battle of Dyrrachium the weapons of the Varangians (the axes) are remembered as plumed[259].

The battle axe, of the so called Danish-Skandinavian form, was the principal weapon of the Varangians[260], as recorded in the sources[261]. The two hands'axe, single edge cutting or ετεροστομα πελεκυς, *dextralion* [262](**plate 1B**) is reconstructed as about 120-140 cm long; the head is about 18 cm. in width, and about 17 cm. from point to point across the blade. The iron head was innested on the trunk and may better fixed to the handle by two rivets on the sides[263].

Shields are mentioned for Varangians in the sources[264], and our man is not an exception. The reconstructed shield (**plate 1B**), of circular Scandinavian fashion, slightly convex, provided of shoulder strapes, measures about 80-100 cm. in diameter[265].

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semispherical) 80 (onion shaped) 316 (ring pommel), 363 (pommel shaped like upturned horns) 41, 89, 333 (flat, circular or lozange shaped plate); only the trifoil shape is missing.

[257] Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 2, 25 ; *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 39,3.

[258] Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 10.

[259] Heath, *Armies of Dark Ages*, p. 73.

[260] Ibidem, pp. 73-74 and fig. 23 ; Idem, *Byzantine Armies*, pp. 17, 37-38 and pl. F ; Idem, *Armies and Enemies of the Crusades*, p. 100-101 fig. 74 ; Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 166-167 note 35-37; Nicolle, *Arms and armour*, p. 21, 101 and fig. 233 ; Blondal, *The Varangians*, p. 183 ; Haldon, *Warfare*, p. 134 ; for representations of Varangians armed with such a weapon s. the famous *folio* 26*v* of the Scylitzes and *folios* 136*r* and 417*r* of Cod. Ath. Esphigmenou, in Kolias, Waffen, pl. XVI/2 and XXVII/1. S. also a very rare ivory plaque representing a Warrior armed with a danish axe, in Beatson P., *A warrior with a "Danish axe" in a Byzantine ivory panel*, in Varangian Voice 52 august 1999 pp. 14-17.

[261] Psellos, *Chronographia*, VI, 87 ; Anna Komnena, *Alexiadis*, II, 9, p. 120-IV, 6, p. 116; Choniates, Χρονικη διηγησις I, 5.

[262] S. Du Cange *commentarii* de Alexiade pp. 464-465 ; Leo, *Taktika*, VI, 25, speaks about the kind of axe "*...having a single cutting edge and the other edge rounded...*". This axe was called by the medieval Greeks *êmipelekka*, i.e. the *"..half-axe, which has got a single cutting edged blade, called dextralion"* (Salmasius, *Interpretes Homeri*,p.200). This iron *dextrale,* is mentioned as διστραλιον μονοπελυκον in dotation to Imperial Guardsmen in *De Cer.*I, 148: *"The σπαθαροκανδιδατοι wear their maniakia (*collars or *torques*, necklaces*), their shield and single edge axes; the σπαθαριοι their shields and axes, both in skaramangion."* and I,72: *"...on both sides wearing their distralia"*. These axes were called δεξτραλια because they were worn by Bodyguards not with their left hand, as the spear, but with their right hand. But it was not a rule. The Danish axes of the Varangians were worn also on the left shoulder : "*...securim Danicam in humero sinistro, hastile ferreum dextra manu gestantes...*" in Willhelm of Malmesbury, *De Gesta Anglorum*, II, 12.

[263] The 11th cent. head specimen comes from London, and represents the beginning of a development that led from this almost symmetrical blade to the sharply upwards-sweeping war axes of the 12th century, s. Nicolle, *Arms and armours*, I, p. 112 fig. 106; for the shaft lenght cfr. Nurmann-Schultze-Verhűldonsk, *The Vikings recreated in colour photographs*, London 1997, p. 16.

[264] See Anna Komnena, IV, 6; Niketas Choniates I, 5.

[265] Ian Heath, *Armies of the Dark Ages*, p. 73; that Varangians used their personal equipment together with East-Roman, is logically deducted by the use of the great Danish axe; we must be agree with Heath about the fact that a mixture of Byzantine and Scandinavian gear was in use, with a predominance of the latter in the first period of the service until it was replaced with weapons taken from Imperial arsenals when the own equipment wore out. The above mentioned passage about Bolli Bollasson shows in any case a behaviour of the Guards for Roman fashion, in a similar way to their ancestors mercenaries in Imperial armies since the 6-7th centuries. S. Vierck, *Imitatio Imperii und Interpretatio Germanica*, in Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance), Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie tenu à Upsal 20-22 avril 1979, Upsala, Figura 19, 1981. p. 67. The full armour

The shield, such as the elaborate model in the enamel[266], is blue painted on the edge, crowned by small almandine stones, with white pearls around the central white field, in which is inscribed a half-blue and half black raven. 4 rivets around the raven shows in the enamel the correspondance point of internal attachments for hand and shoulders straps.

And it is on its device that we may find a proof of the Varangian origin of the warrior who inspired the author of the Munchen Enamel. The raven there painted reminds us to the holy bird of Odin, the Greatest God of the Norvegian Pantheon[267], rather than the usual devices of the East-Roman shields. For this reason Heath suggested that this man could well have retained, notwithstanding the "Roman" garb of his uniform, an own shield from Scandinavia[268]. In the "*Harald saga*" there are reference to the "*ravens*" leaving from Russia to Miglakard (Constantinople):

"*The king's sharp sword lies clean and bright, Prepared in foreign lands to fight: Our ravens croak to have their fill, The wolf howls from the distant hill. Our brave king is to Russia gone, -- Braver than he on earth there's none; His sharp sword will carve many feast To wolf and raven in the East.*"[269]

Cotton or linen *bracae* or τουβια [270] completely covering the leg of the warrior from the thigh to the toes ; also this kind of αναξυριδα are typically Roman fashion since the Late Empire, and, in the enamel, they consist of very tight blue pants heavily embroidered[271]. In the reconstruction the model is simpler and fitted for use on campaign.

The second strong element which suggest to us that the man in the miniature is a Varangian is the use of what seems the so called Wickelbander (wool bands), wrapped around the legs (***fig.13 n. 31 and fig. 10***) ; these bands were typical of Viking

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Varangians represented in the *folio* 26*v* of Scylitzes shows for the most part "Roman" equipment: typical East-Roman kassidia with *peritrachilia*, circular or kit-shields, muscled armour for Officers, *thorakia pholidota* or scale armours feet lenght , spears or doratia of mediterranean shape, flags *vánda* with pennons or *flammoula*.

[266] The shield of the enamel has often been interpreted as circular, but may be the artist will was to represent a kit-shield in perspective. Shield device and colour, as well his pearled edge, encrusted by precious stones, has been very well reconstructed by Hottenroth, *Trachten,*pl. 66 (I) and 26 (II) Parade shields with pearls and precious stones used by Imperial Guardsmen are mentioned in *De Cer.* II, 576, 640. They are also attested by artistic sources, s. for instance the 11th cent. shields of soldiers in "Road to Calvary" in Karikli Kilise, Goreme, s. Jerphanion, *Les Eglises*, pl. 130 n. 1 ; the *Longinus* shield in the 11th cent. Hermitage reliquary of the True Cross in Bank, *Byzantine art*, fig. 187 ; the shields of the Imperial *Protospatharioi* painted in the 11th cent. frescoes of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, in Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art Byzantin*, Paris, 1936, fig. 7 p. 69.

[267] Used as well on the Viking flags, s. Heath, *Armies of the Dark Ages*, p. 93-94 fig. 72 ; s.

[268] Heath, *Byzantine Armies 886-1118*, p. 26 ; Idem, *Armies of the Dark Ages*, p. 74 fig. 25 ; Various, *Enciclopedia delle Religioni Vallecchi*, Firenze1970, Vol. II, u.v. *Germani*, col. 1742-1745.

[269] Heimskringla, see note 16 above;

[270] *De Cer.*, II, 678; s. notes 147-148 above ; about the general use of the word *Anaxyrides* as pants cfr. Niketas Choniates VII, I, 30.

[271] The *Menologion* of Basil II shows all the soldiers dressing such a kind of very elaborate pants; in summer they should be rolled up to the knee, and they were or covering the undergarments or *esophorioi*, or linked to them by laces; over it the warrior worn sometimes υποκαμισοβρακια, a kind of short pants. See *Menologion* of Basil II, folios 15, 30, 71, 92, 49, 247 in Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio* ; *De Cer.*, II, 677-678; for *ipokamisovrakia* s. Haldon, *Imperial Military Expeditions*, 223-224 ;

Age and worn by the Varangians coming to Byzance, as showed by the finds of Zalatovye nearby Novgorod[272]. The bands, measuring from the surviving fragments, were usually 75-100 mm. broad, and the weave, as the way of wrapping, was almost invariably of "herringbone" type, as shown in ***fig. 10,13*** and **plate 1B**. The most usual colours, lichen purple and indigotin (blue from woad) were the commonest. The enamel in fact shows light blue and dark blue wickelbander[273].

These bands were a kind of "puttees", spiral wrappings for the lower leg, so often seen in artistic illustrations[274]. The stretchiness of herringbone weave makes it particulary suited to this type of function. Fastening must usually have been accomplished by simply tucking in the loose ends, but there is evidence of more elaborate systems. Ties below the knee with tassels or tags were usually used, in the fashion of tablet woven garters to fasten the chevron twill puttees. The garters often had plaited terminals interlaced with coils of bronze wire, particularly in the Baltic Regions. A pair of hooks were found below the kneecaps of a 10th cent. male skeleton in Birka and Novgorod Graves (***fig. 13 n. 32***)[275]. About the total length, we can suppose a a medium length from 2,5 to 3 m. [276]

This Northman finally wears the feet enclosed in short shoes, probably to identify with those used by infantry and called *mouzakia* in tactic lexicon[277].

In our reconstruction, there is a touch of colour on his hand : the tattooing of hands and arms up to the shoulder was a Rus-Varangian fashion adopted from Asiatic people, so very often practised by the Guardsmen[278].

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272 Cfr. Beatson P., *Wickelbander*, in Varangian Voice n. 37 November 1995, pp. 17; Nosov E.N., *Ryurik Gorodische and the settlements to the north of Lake Ilmen*, in Brisbane, *The archeology of Novgorod*, London 1987, pp. 41 ff.;

273 The bands' remnants from different places in North-Europe (Hedeby and Elisenhof), appeared to have been artificially coloured red and yellow. In some examples different-colored dark and light warp and weft were used to accentuate the weaving pattern. Other colours showed by the remnants are orange-brown, black, black-brown, red-brown, yellow-brown. S. Beatson, *Wickelbander*, p. 9 and note 10.

274 In East-Roman context, see Bank, *Byzantine Art,* pp. 187, 190 (may be Varangian figures ?); in western 11th cent. context, s. the Bayeux Tapestry in Setton, *The Norman conquest*, pp. 208, 220, 222, 244-245; and Beatson, *Wickelbander*, fig. 7 ;

275 On the reverse of the hooks were remains of woolen twill cloth. The hooks were fastened into small iron rings, on which linen tabby from the trousers was still found. S. Ardwisson , Birka II, *Systematischen Analysen der Gräberfunde*, Stockholm, 1986, pp. 51-72; Nosov, *Ryurik Gorodische*, pp. 45ff. The fastening system we copied, combining the specimens of Novgorod hook with that of Lejre, is after Birkebak, *Danmarkshistorien, Vikingetiden*, I, Copenhagen 1982.

276 Surviving Viking Age band fragments longer than one meter have been reported. A total length of 3,60 m. could be assumed from the whole reconstruction. S. Beatson, *Wickelbander*, p. 10-11.

277 Nikephoros *Praecepta Militaria* I, 3 ; Nikephoros Ouranos I,3 ; both in McGeer, *Showing the...*, p. 13 and pp. 62,89,205; Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 72 note 3; for the arabian origin of it see Du Cange commentarii on Pseudo-Kodinos p. 226. S. also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 959 ;

278 S. Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 37 ;

Γ) *Lombard infanrytman or Pelthastis of Thema of Laghouvardhìa* **:**

We read in the sources that, together with mercenaries and East-Roman regular troops, the army of Maniakes was composed also of Lombards, sent by Prince Guaimarius IV of Salerno[279]. Looking for an artistic source for the reconstruction of such kind of warriors (**plate A3**) we could put our attention upon a figure taken by the miniature "*The temporal Authorities*", of Exultet 2, today preserved in Pisa Cathedral, but produced in Southern Italy, probably at Capua, in 1059 (***fig. 14***)[280].

This Exultet Roll, about 95 cm. long, is formed by 12 parchment sections, in latin written in Beneventan Lombard style. The figurative cycle presents 28 scenes, 11 of which formed a Christ cycle, from the Annunciation to the Last Supper. It follows the glory of Christ, 4 scenes for the preliminary introduction, 9 scenes for the Laus Cerei and 3 scenes for the liturgycal commemorations, i.e. "spiritual" and "temporal" Authorities.

The analysis of this parchment suggests that the roll had been produced in the area of the *Longobardia minor*, in a chronological continuity at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. The work comes from a very rich centre, and was probably destined for a Bishop. For his iconographic links with the famous manuscript 132 of the Montecassino Abbey, the Rabano Mauro, with the M. 397 of the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York and with the Salernitan ivories of the Cathedral, as well as with the frescoes of S. Michele at Olevano on Tusciano and Sant'Angelo in Formis, some authors proposed a Beneventan or Amalfitan production. But a recent hypothesis identifiyng the Bishop represented on the Exultet as Ildebrandus, Arcibishop of Capua from 1059 to 1071, underlines the possibility of its Capuan origin[281].

Capua in 1059, just before the Norman conquest, was still a Lombard city under of the control of the family of Pandolfus IV , who died in 1049, that famous Pandolfus "the wolf" who, allied himself with Constantinople against the Pope and the German Emperor, was the uncle of the Salernitan Prince Guaimarius IV and the protagonist of the Southern Italy's policy of the first half of 11th century[282]. His troops, as well as those of his relatives, were under the strong influence of Constantinople, so it is possible that the representation of the warrior, in the miniature, is a true portrait of an original guardsman. In any case Southern Italy was exposed to the many influences coming

[279] See note 14 above.
[280] See Ministero dei beni culturali, *Exultet,* pp. 156-157 and p. 171; **fig. 14** is taken from it.
[281] See Ministero dei beni culturali, *Exultet,* pp. 156-157 and p. 170.
[282] See Rasile M., *Normanni, Svevi, Angioini e Durazzeschi*, Itri 1988, pp. 7-14; Fedele P., *Scritti storici sul ducato di Gaeta*, Gaeta 1988 pp. 78-100.

from Muslim, East-Roman and Mediterranean world, influences reflected also in the military garb of its small Principates[283].

The fact that in the miniature he does not wear a sword could be indicative of his court function as a simple guard. The man in the miniature could portray a Lombard medium infantryman (may be a πελταστης)[284] enlisted in the regular troops of the *Thema* of *Laghouvardhìa*. as well representing one of these Lombard Guards, armed with a mixture of East-West equipment, who garrisoned the camp or the commander's tent.

His "Lombard" origin could be derived from the appearance he shows in the *Exultet*, where he is represented with high stature, large eyes and red beard. We know that high stature was a characteristic of the Lombard warriors, and this is illustrated in the episode remembered by Guglielmo Appulo[285] at the battle of Cividale (1054) when the Lombard and Suebian warriors of the Pope Leo IX mocked the Normans of the Robert the Guiscard for their shortness[286].

On his head he wears a whole metallic single-piece conical helm (κασσιδιον)[287]. This kind of helmet is often associated, in biblical illuminations of Byzantine art, with representations of enemies of the Israelites[288], so that its attribution to the enemies of God could be interpreted as linking with the *Agarenoi*, Muslims, enemies of the new chosen People, the Orthodox Christians of the Roman Empire. But it is not a rule: in *Scylitzes Matritensis* [289]as well in other artistic works[290] this kind of helmet is worn by Roman soldiers, so that its use by Mediterranean races could eventually be related to its typology[291]. The use of this specimen in 11th cent. South Italy could eventually confirm the strong influence of both Muslims and East-Romans on the military context of these regions.

The blue colour of the under helmet hood in the miniature reveals the presence of a mail coif, worn over a natural ochre hood, maybe of padded material, which covers, with its edge, part of the armour. The use of metallic coif or

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283 See Nicolle, *The Normans*, pp. 28-46 and pl. G; Idem, *Arms and armours of the Crusading Era*, I, pp. 247ff., figg. 660 ff.

284 *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38,7 ; I would like note the *klibanion* and the helmet open on the front, as described for the Πελτασται.

285 Guglielmo Appulo, II ; Muratori L., *Annales d'Italia*, *Dal primo anno dell'era volgare al MDCCLXXXI*, XXV, p. 242.

286 The episode had a tragic epilogue for the Lombards, who were cut to pieces by the Normans. Excavations on the battlefield revealed bodies of very high stature men with signs of terrible wounds. S. Rasile, *Normanni*, pp. 16-17.

287 On Κασσιδιον see note 209 above.

288 Cfr. for example the *folio* 469*v* of 11th cent. *Smyrne Pentateuch*, in Nicolle, *Arms and armours*, p. 30 fig.17a; Huber, *Bild und Botschaft*, *folios* 402*r*,421*v* of the *Vatopedi Octateuch*, figg. 125,134.

289 S. *folios* 99*v*, 149*r*, 150*r*, in Cirac Estopanân, *Reproducciones...,* fig. pp. 301, 354-355.

290 S. Kolias, *Waffen*, pls. XX (Cod. Ath. Vatop. 760 *folios* 265*v* and 286*r*).

291 The mediterranean origin of this piece of equipment is also attested in a very fine tall one-piece conical specimen of 10th cent. date, preserved in the Instituto de la Historia de Valencia, s. fig. 15 in Egfroth (Lowe S.), *More and yet more helmets*, in Varangian Voice 33, November 1994.

σκαπλιον[292] of mail by Roman soldiers is well attested from the third century onwards in artistic sources[293]. But the coif shown in the *Exultet* of Pisa has got something more. It could represent an application of the evolution of the famous East-Roman *zába*, which in this age designs not only the mail cuirass but also parts of equipment for arms, legs and head composed by felt, cotton and coarse silk with metallic protections of lamellar, scale and, as in this case, mail armour,directly stitched upon a felt support[294] (**plate A3**).Around his neck the man seems wear a remainder of the Roman military heritage of Italy and Byzantium, a red *maphòrion* [295]or scarf.

The main defensive Armour is a *klibanion* (***fig.15 n. 20 and*** **plate A3**) composed by 16 rows of rectangular flanked scales of golden metal[296], attached one by one to a leather fabric by means of a central rivet to. This kind of attachment has been reconstructed from identical specimens found in Russian context, following the suggestion of the Russian archeologist Kirpicnikov that such kind of metal plates were fastened to a leather or linen fabric[297]. This kind of κλιβανια could be of the type having πεταλα (*lamellae*) only at the front, and plain leather or linen at the back (***fig.15 n. 23***), mentioned by sources[298]. They were probably composed by two leather valves

[292] Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 43-44; s. also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1382; and for the 6-7th century army the *Strategikon*, I, 2; VII, 15; X, 1; the coif could have been worn alone or under the helmet, or even over the cap s. Aussaresses F., *L'armée Byzantine à la fin du VIe siècle d'après le Strategikon de l'Empereur Maurice*, Paris 1909, p.48.

[293] S. for example the *folio* 471*v* of 11th cent. *Smyrne Pentateuch*, in Nicolle, *Arms and armours*, p. 30 fig.17r ; the 11th century the slipping soldiers at Holy Sepulchre in the Church of Karanlik, Goreme, in Jerphanion, *Les Eglises*, pl. 103/1; Cod. Ath. Esphigmenou 14, *folio* 136*v*, in *Treasures*, II, fig. 333, and s. also *folio* 343*r* fig. 340 ; s. Kolias, *Waffen*, note 58 for other examples.

[294] Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 65-67; Idem, *Zaba*, 28ff.; the kind of mail armour in the reconstruction has been copied by the finds of Danube, Veliki Gradac, s. Jankovic, *Implements*, p. 59, pl. V fig. 64/17; to make clear as it was worn s. the fresco of Resurrection at Goreme in Kappadokia quoted in the previous note, even if the coif there is scale covered. The fragments of ring armour found in Veliki Gradac are from mail composed by ringlets 0,9 cm. in diameter, linked together by tiny rivets, of circular crossed section. On the opposing side of the rivet, on the larger part they are elliptic and in the place of their riveting they are flattened. Mr. Antonucci suggests me that the kind of coif worn by the *Exultet* Pisa warrior could have been of *jazeran*, *jazerant* or *kazaghand* type, i.e. with flat rings sewn on the felt or leather support. For the term cfr. Tarassuk-Blair, *Arms & Weapons,* Verona 1979-1986 under v.

[295] To protect the neck from the armour's chaffing. It was the scarf of the Roman classical *miles*, called *focale*. See G. Sumner, *Roman Army, wars of the Empire,* London 1997, pp. 89-90 ; Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti ed armati i Milites*, p. 207 n. 5. The Italian middle age and especially the Dark Ages is very interesting because of the particularity of the military equipment, showing a mixture of "classical" medieval equipment together with vestiges of the old Roman tradition, and these latter not only derived from the always present Byzantine influence. But this is matter for other article.

[296] The count of the rows is from the *Exultet* figure.

[297] S. Kirpicnikov A.I., "Russische Körper-Schutzwaffen des 9-16 Jahrhunderts"*, in Waffen und Kostümkunde der Gesellshaft für historische Waffen und Kostümkunde,* 1, 1976, p.25-28 fig. 9.

[298] Achmet, *Oneirokritikon*, 114 ; Leo, *Naumachica*, I, 14 ; Nikephoros Ouranos, *Naumachica*, VI, 12 ; s. also Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 46 ; Haldon, *Imperial Military Expeditions*, pp. 278-279 ; it is interesting to mention that in the *Menologion* of Basil II an armoured warrior, even if bare-head, is armed in an almost identical way ; the κλιβανιον is identical, as well the *maphòrion* around the neck. Only, the *klibanion* is worn over a *zoupa*, showing the *cymation* and the shoulder protection pieces. The shield of this warrior seems be a leather shield, painted green, of the type (δορκα) used by the fighting sailors called *Phampili* (*De Cer*, II, 579). If my identification is correct, the use of such a κλιβανιον could be linked with the type "*with lamellae only on the front*"described for fighting sailors. A very good colour photo in Upjohn-Mahler-Wingert, *Storia Mondiale dell'arte, Dagli Etruschi alla fine del Medioevo*, Oxford 1949-1958, p. 99.

fastened on sides by means of leather thongs (***fig.15 n. 21***) as those You could see in the miniature of David and Goliath of Cod. *Parisinus Graecus 139* of 10th cent[299]. This is a extraordinary source which shows us a way of fastening a leather cuirass, and the same way of fastening is shown for the scale *klibanion* worn by Basil I in the folio 86r of the *Scylitzes*.[300]

Smaller *lamellae* grew thinner narrowing on the shoulders. So in the reconstructed cuirass of our man the 16 rows of scales end on the shoulders with what look like a transversal joint[301] which could reinforce the idea of two valves united and fastened, on the sides by laces, and on the shoulder, by means of clasps (***fig. 15 n. 22***) which may be similar to some fragments of the lamellar armour found in the Great Palace[302].

The under cuirass garment does not look as muscled-shaped in the source, because the warrior, apart from helmet and armour, is armed in a more western fashion. It has got, in any case, decorative shoulder pieces remembering the ancient ones (***fig. 15 n. 23***).

The spear carried by the men in the Capua Exultet is undoubtely of the typical "winged"one, so called for its iron projections on every side of the grove in the wood pole. This weapon, derived from Germanic races , was used or for war or for hunt, but as a war weapon it reached its finest development in the Carolingian age, as attested and used by all the Northern and Mediterranean races, including East-Romans, Franks, Vikings, Muslims and Slavs[303].

The specimen in the reconstruction has been copied from point GW959 found in the Arabo-Byzantine shipwreck of Serçe Limani[304]. Apart from its similarity, in style and proportions to

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Identical armour but of metallic plates is worn by a warrior in the same Exultet of Pisa, Temporal Authorities, 2, s. *Exultet*, p. 173.

[299] Heath, *Byzantine armies*, p. 33.

[300] The detail is very clear in Sherrard, *Byzanz*, p. 67, where the ending part of the laces goes out from the right side of the κλιβανιον.

[301] Better visible at the scanner.

[302] Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace*, pl. 58 fig. 7.

[303] S. Kovacs L., *Bemerkungen zur Bewertung der Frankischen Flugellanzen im Karpatenbecken*, in Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 8/9 1978/1979, pp.97-119, pls. 59-68; Paulsen P., *Flügellanzen zum archäeologischen Horizont der Wiener Sancta Lancea*, in Frümittelalterliche Studien 3, pp. 289-312, pls. XIX-XXI; a good specimen in a Lombard-East-Roman context was found in Nocera Umbra, grave 6, together with other weapons of Eastern Mediterranean origin; s. Paroli-Arena, *Museo dell'alto Medioevo,* Roma 1993, pp. 32-33 fig. 29; the evidence of the use by East-Roman troops of this kind of weapon is well attested, for Italy, in the famous Crucifixion fresco of Santa Maria Antiqua, in situ, Forum Romanum, dated 700 circa, where Longinus holds this kind of spear, cfr. P. Romanelli, *Santa Maria Antiqua,* Roma 1999 pl. VII; a very nice specimen found in Rome and dated to the same period is now shown in the Crypta Balbi Museum. For 9th cent. Constantinople, we can clearly distinguish it in the hands of one of the Guards of Salomon in *folio* 215 *v* of Gregorius Nazianzenus 510, representing probably an Imperial *Primikerios Kandidatos*, s. note 94 above. For their use by the Vikings see Nurmann, *The Vikings*, pp.14-15; and the Muslims Nicolle D., *Armies of the Caliphates 862-1098*, London 1998, p. 17 pl F.

[304] 45 cm. length. For what concerns the whole length of the spear, the wood fragments attached to the same suggest a total length of 1 m. and an half (pole and head together). It was directly put in the wood pole, without rivets. S. Schwarzer J.K., *Arms from an eleventh Century Shipwreck*, in Graeco-Arabica IV, 1991, pp. 327-350, p. 329, fig. 5. The armament discovered in the eleventh century shipwreck of Serce Limani, always more considered a Byzantine ship

types of 10th cent. Central Europe, the type is practically identical to that one represented in the hands of Goliath in Studite Psalter Ms Add. 19352, *folio* 182,[305]confirming its use in an East-Roman context.

The circular shield is represented in the source as a East-Roman *skoutarion* [306]of framed wood, with what seems to be a blue-metallic edge 1-2cm. thick on the external surface. We have reconstructed it on the internal side riveted by bronze nails such as those found in Garigliano[307] (***fig. 15 n. 24***). It is widely convex, arched in front and without an *umbo*; the surface is covered by a surface dyed olive-green in the median band and red- leather on the top, without metallic garments, which remains us of the use of leather or coarse, thick donkey hide[308]. It was maybe provided with a carrying strap, a shoulder belt slung over the left shoulder diagonally on the upper part of the body, to carry the shield in a way not to tax or to limit the carrier's hands in their movement (***fig.15n. 24***). In the medieval greek lexics this "chain of the shield" is called " τελαμων " like in the ancient greek[309]. We can suppose the presence, in the inner side of the shield, of shorter hand-grips for hand and fore-arm of the carrier, called οχανον (ancient πορπαξ)[310] . By means of the latter you can handle the shield or carry it if not provided with shoulder-strap. A very fine example - used in our reconstruction - can be seen in the Goliath represented in the miniature of *Codice Parisinus Graecus 139*.[311] The diameter of shield of the "Lombard" warrior, judging from ***fig. 14***, is about 3 spans (70,2 cm.) as described by *Sylloge Tacticorum* for πελτασται and light Cavalrymen[312].

Interesting details reveals the analysis of the clothing, mantle, tunics, pants and boots.

In the *Exultet* the coarse linen cloak (*sagion*) is worn in a transversal way around the chest, according to the typical East-Roman fashion ; of quadrangular-shape, it is knotted on the back a little under the left shoulder. The way of wearing the cloak wrapped around the chest or the body was typical for soldiers and workers since from antiquity: it generally was used

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instead that a Muslim one, is unique for its importance in the study of the medieval weapons of that age in the Mediterranean world. It includes 50 javelins, 12 spears, two axes, fragments of 3 swords, with some of these typologies never recorded in any western context.

305 S. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour*, p. 35 fig 33s and note 68 above.

306 For the different terms employed for the shield in medieval Greek lexicon, s. Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 88-96.

307 See note 99 above.

308 See note 98 above.

309 Suda, *Lexicon*, IV, 517 ; *Pseudo Zonaras lexicon*, col. 1716 ; *Etymologicum Magnum*, 750, 25 ; s. Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 120 note 166.

310 See note 107 above ;

311 *Folio* 4*v*; s. Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p. 33.

312 *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38,6 ; 39, 8 ; s. Kolias, *Waffen*, p. 110.

by all the people who was accustomed to come to blows[313].

The man wears two tunics: a light undergarment, probably a καμισιον[314], in a ochre dyed linen, and a superior cotton, felt or silk garment, who could be the identified with the so called *armilausion*,[315] or a kind of padded *himation* worn under armour. Under the cuirass the soldiers wore special garments, to prevent the body from the direct contact with iron or other coarse materials or armour and to make it easier to wear it. So at least you could deduce from the text of *Anonymus de re militari* of 6th cent., which can be applied to later ages. He says that an important factor for the equipment's effectiveness should be its distance from the body: *"It should not be worn directly over ordinary clothing, as some do to keep down the weight of the armour, but over a himation at least a finger thick. There are two reasons for this. Where it touches the body the hard metal may not chafe but may fit and lie comfortably upon the body. In addition, it helps to prevent the enemy missiles from hitting the flesh because of the iron, the design, and the smoothness, but also because the metal is kept away from the flash."*(*Anonymus Peri Strategias*, 16, 20-27)[316]. Under-garments of this kind (ιματια) formed a heavier weight for the soldiers, but protected them from wounds caused by their armour and offered a more consistent protection. Furthermore these undergarments were not only worn under the metal armour, but also, as in this way, under the leather fabric of the *lamellae*, so that their defensive function takes on a bigger importance.

We know from tacticians[317] that in 10-11th centuries the Roman infantrymen wore padded tunics made of felt, cotton or coarse silk; the καβαδια of the infantry are recorded as wearing an outer protective layer[318], over the armour or even instead of it, but this does not exclude that under cuirass tunics, made as well of padded material or *kentoukla*,[319] were worn under the armour as shown in the pictorial sources.

We should verify if the padded tunic under armour here worn is to identify with the kind of tunic called αρμιλαυσιον. The use of this tunic by the infantrymen in Roman army is attested

[313] S. Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio*, folio 3 (Joshua) p. 4.note 3; for other examples of mantle rolled up the body in 10-11th cent. Byzantium s. the *Joshua Roll*, in Heath, *Byzantine Armies*, p.5,28,30; the Goliath in Cod. Gr. 17 of Marciana, in idem, p.37.

[314] About καμισιον s. note 138 above.

[315] *De Cer.* II, 670; s. Reiske *Commentarii* pp. 341, 792-793; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 123 : "*...a men wearing a yellow- red-scarlet armelausion, quadrangolar and padded...*" Cfr. *Martyrium S. Bonifatii and Paulinus*, Ep. XVII, 1, *"...cum armilausa ruberet..."* in Pio Franchi de Cavalieri, *Come andavano vestiti ed armati i milites*, p. 225 n.3 . In *De Cer*. I, 352 this dress is mentioned for the charioters of the factions in cyrcus, who should have a padded dress.

[316] Translation of Dennis, in *Three Treatises*, p. 55.

[317] Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta Militaria*, I, 3; Nikephoros Ouranos, *Taktika*, 56, 3; *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 38, 4 ; 38,7;

[318] On the argument s. also the interesting article of Walker G., *Byzantine military coats*, in *Varangian Voice* 45, pp. 17-21

[319] See also Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 54-55 and note 136 ;

since the 6th century by the *Strategikon* of Maurice[320]. Maurice said that the infantrymen *"...should wear either Gothic tunics coming down to their knees or short ones split up the sides...*" . On this occasion Maurice does not speak of a tunic which should be worn over the armour, but of the normal kind of tunics worn by soldiers also under the armour. The description given by the contemporary Isidorus of Siville about this tunic is the following:

"*…armelausia are so called by the people, because they are cut and open front and back, but closed only on the arms, i.a. armiclausa, missing the litter C…"* [321]

The word could well come from the tunic worn in the Roman army by Germanic infantrymen, tunics which were seen by Isidorus with his own eyes so that there is no doubt about his description[322]. Substantially there were tunics of two types : or επωμις, i.e. *scapulare*, covering the shoulders until the elbows ; or sleeveless, worn as the first over a inner tunic, both worn under the cuirass[323].

In the 10th cent. this kind of tunic could well have mantained his original form, even though, as the other padded tunics worn by the army, his function should be that of a garment worn under or instead of the armour.

The large sleeves of tunic hide partially heavy gold embroidered cloth cuffs on the wrist of the καμισιον; these are covered by silk straps, which we have reconstructed from specimens coming from South Italy, anterior to the 1085 and obviously of Byzantine influence[324].

On the legs the miniature shows linen and close-fitting trousers (τουβια); over the warrior dresses other simple high footwears of padded material, probably without flap, arriving till the thigh and very similar to those of Basil II in cod. Gr. 17, but of red-brown colour and with a lightly laterally flared, probably a local version of the Byzantine boot (**plate A3**). I suppose we are dealing with the kind of footwear called μονοπλα in the sources[325], generally very often represented as infantryman boot

[320] *Strategikon*, XII, B2; we follow the translation of the Dennis.

[321] Isidorus, *Origines*, XIX, 22: *"…armelausa vulgo sint vocata, quod ante et retro divisa atque aperta est, in armis tantum clausa, quasi armiclausa, litera C ablata…"*

[322] Reiske, in his commentary, describes the *armilausion* as a kind of military coat who goes down covering the lower abdomen and sleeveless, having wide holes or openings for the arms. The origin of the dress is adscribed to the German elements in Roman army too, but the etymology *armelausia* or *armelos* should mean a garment without arms or may be without forearms.

[323] The image of the so called gothic belted tunics mentioned in the same passage of Maurikios offered by the 6-7th centuries art show as they were worn or alone or under cuirass : s. for instance Daim, *Die Awaren*, pp. 20-39, figg. 1,2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19 ; the same should be for the *armilavsia*, "split on the sides", Aussarres classifies the αρμιλαυσιον as *"...a close tunic, fitted to the body..."* p. 58.

[324] Various, *I Normanni, popolo d'Europa, 1030-1200*, Roma, 1994, p. 425 fig. 19 ; cm. 20x5.

[325] *Praecepta Militaria*, I,3 ; Nikephoros Ouranos, *Tactica*, 56, 3 ; s. Kolias, *Waffen*, p.72-73 ; Kukules, *Vios*, IV, 409 ; Mc Geer, *Showing...*, p. 205. Examples from the Matritensis in folios 67r,

in the representations[326], normally of padded material and arriving to the knee and also upon it.

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[326] Examples from the *Matritensis* in *folios* 67*r* (Kolias, *Waffen*, pl. XXVIII/1), from Cod. Ath. Esphigmenou 14 in *folios* 417, 418*r* in *Treasures*, II, fig. 405, 406, 407 ;

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Immagini di riferimento



(plate 1a)



(plate 1b)



(plate 1c)



(fig. 1)



(fig. 2)



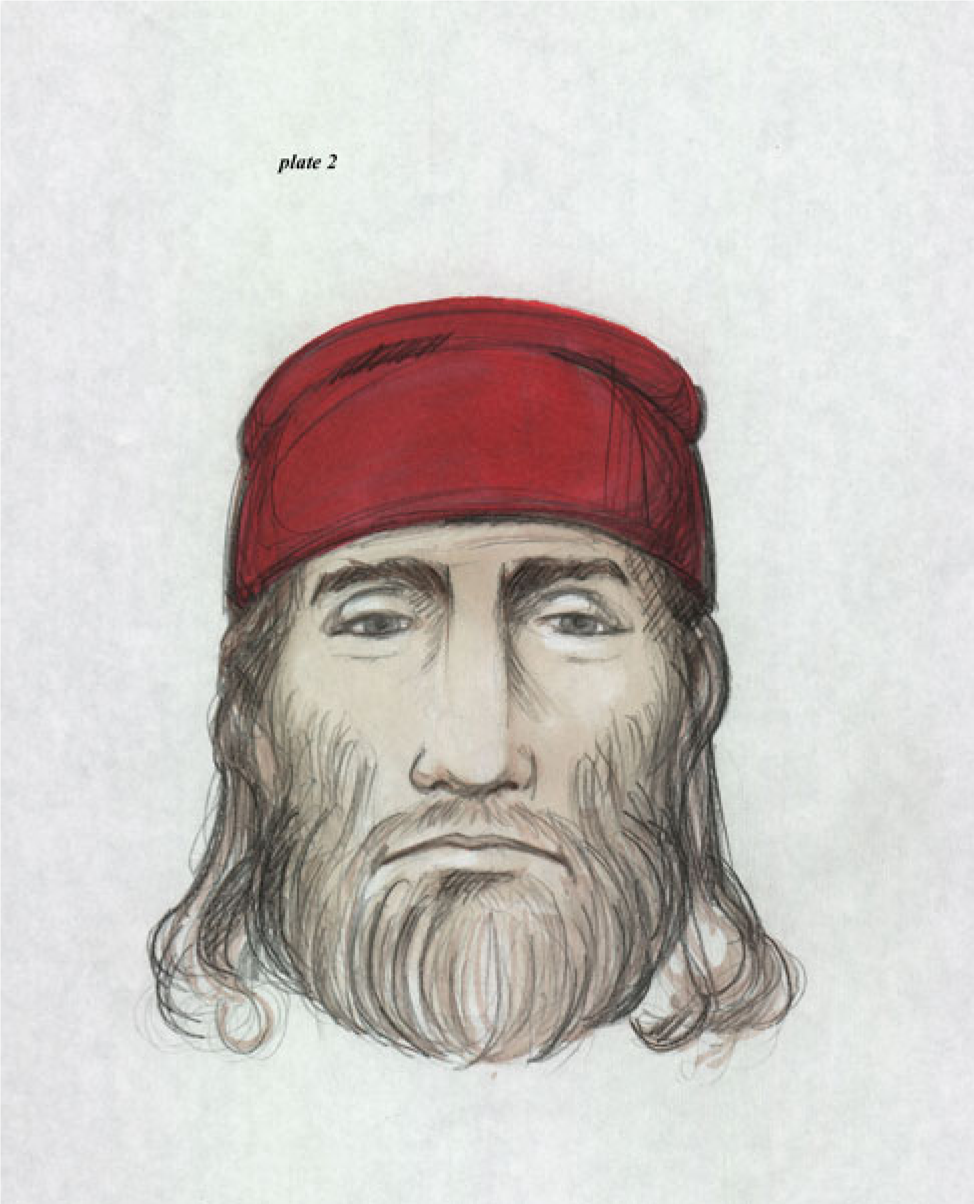
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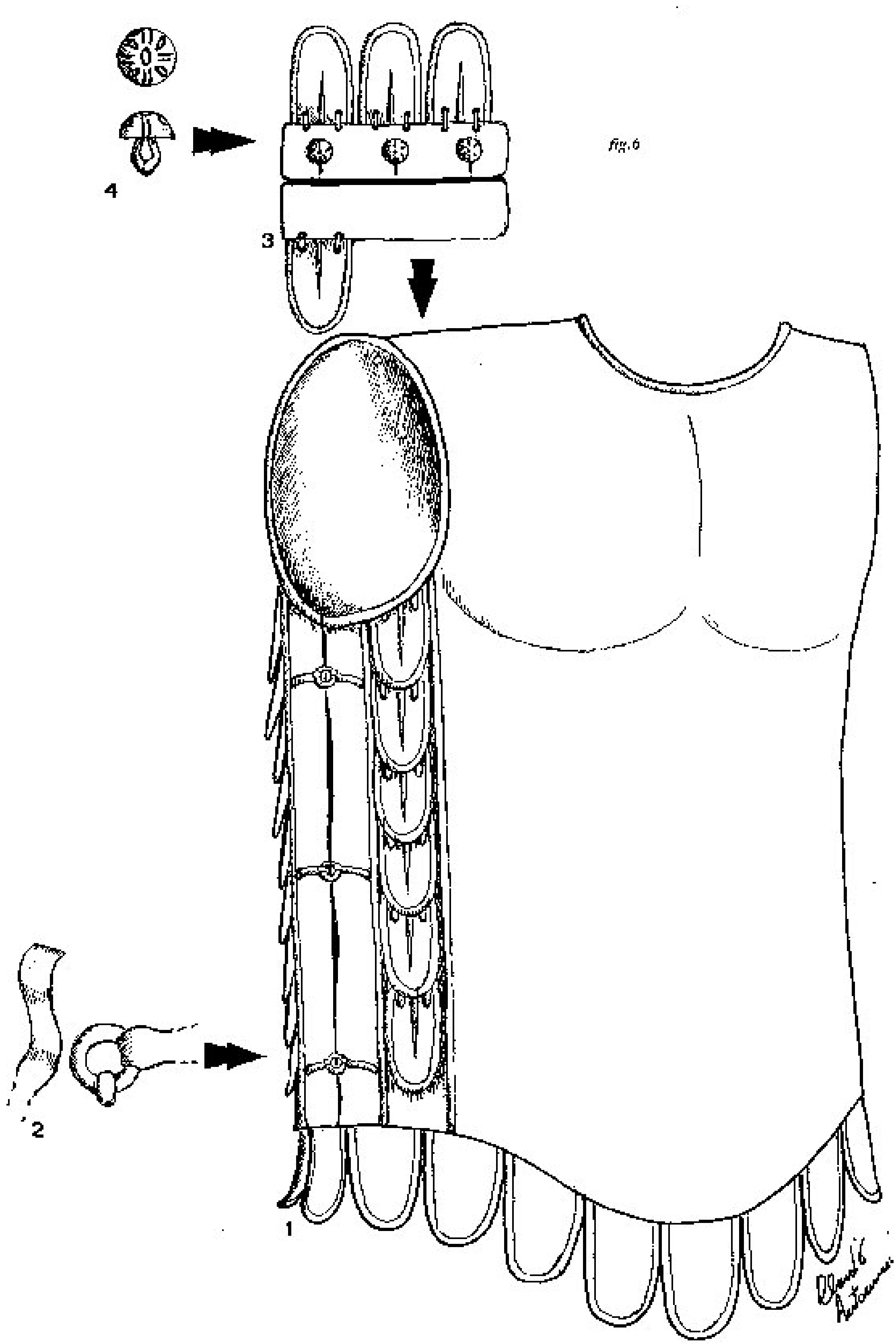
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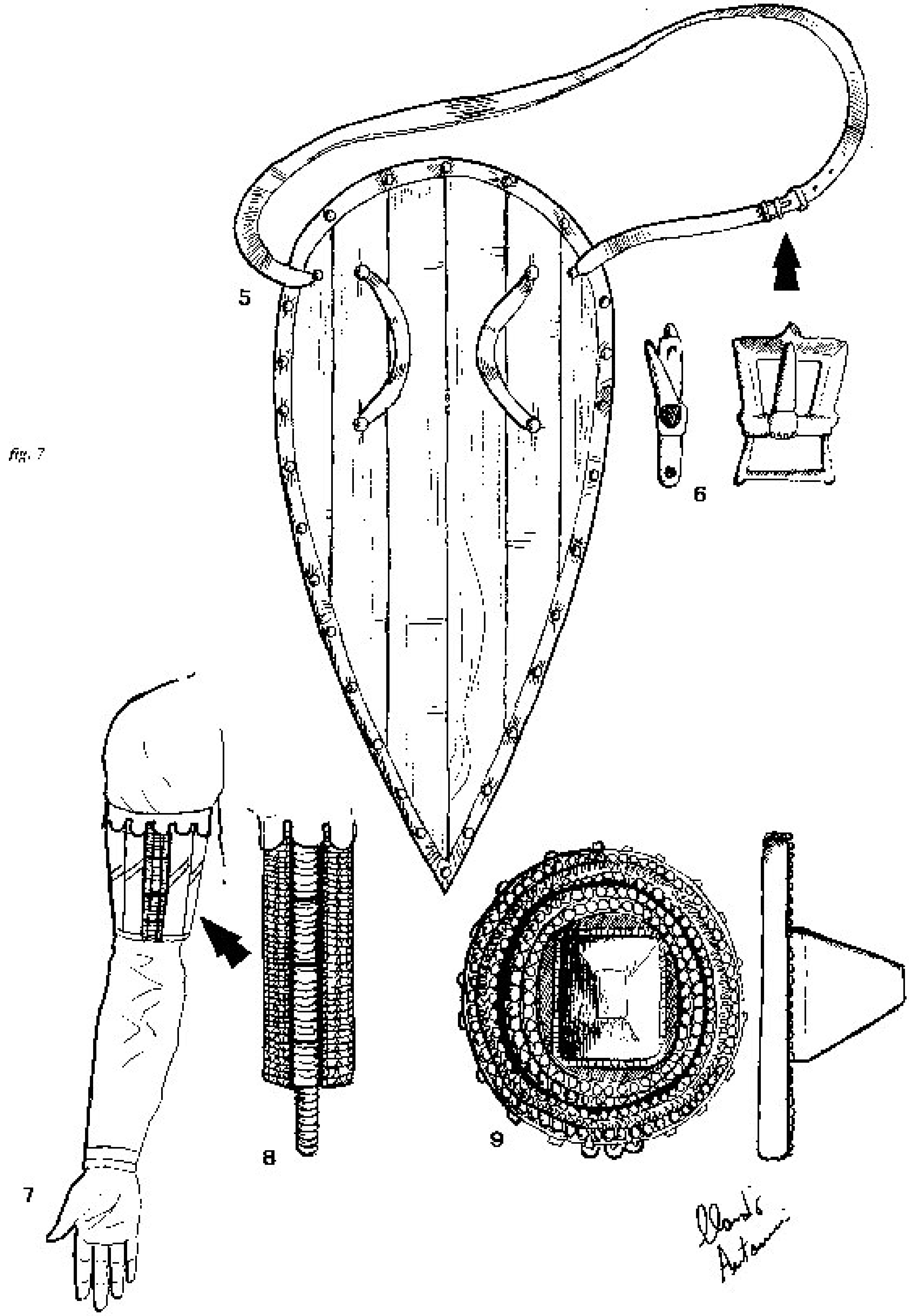
(*fig. 5*)



(plate 2)

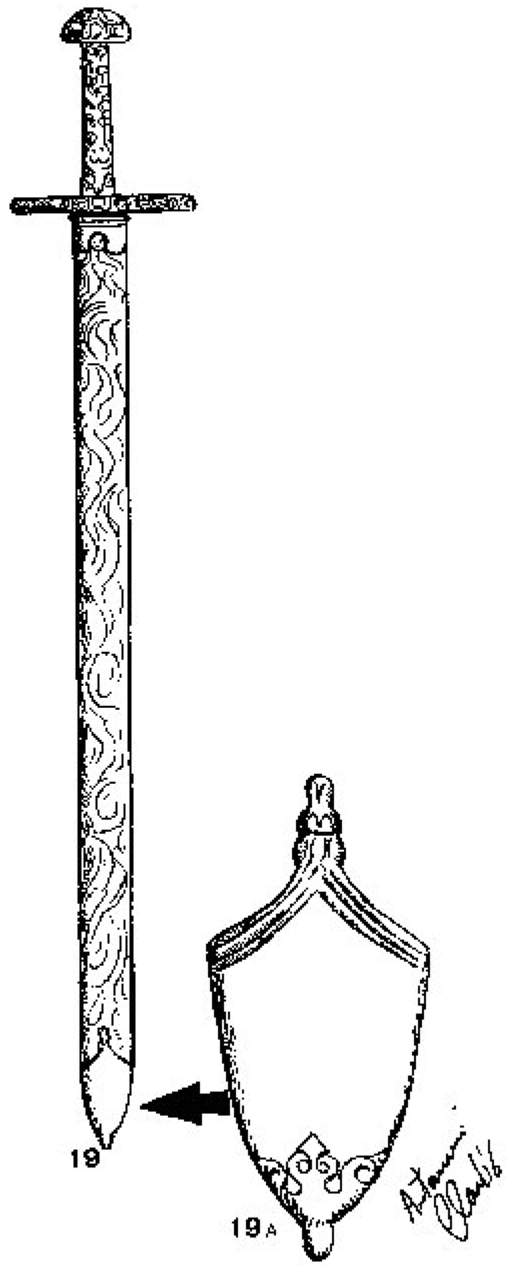


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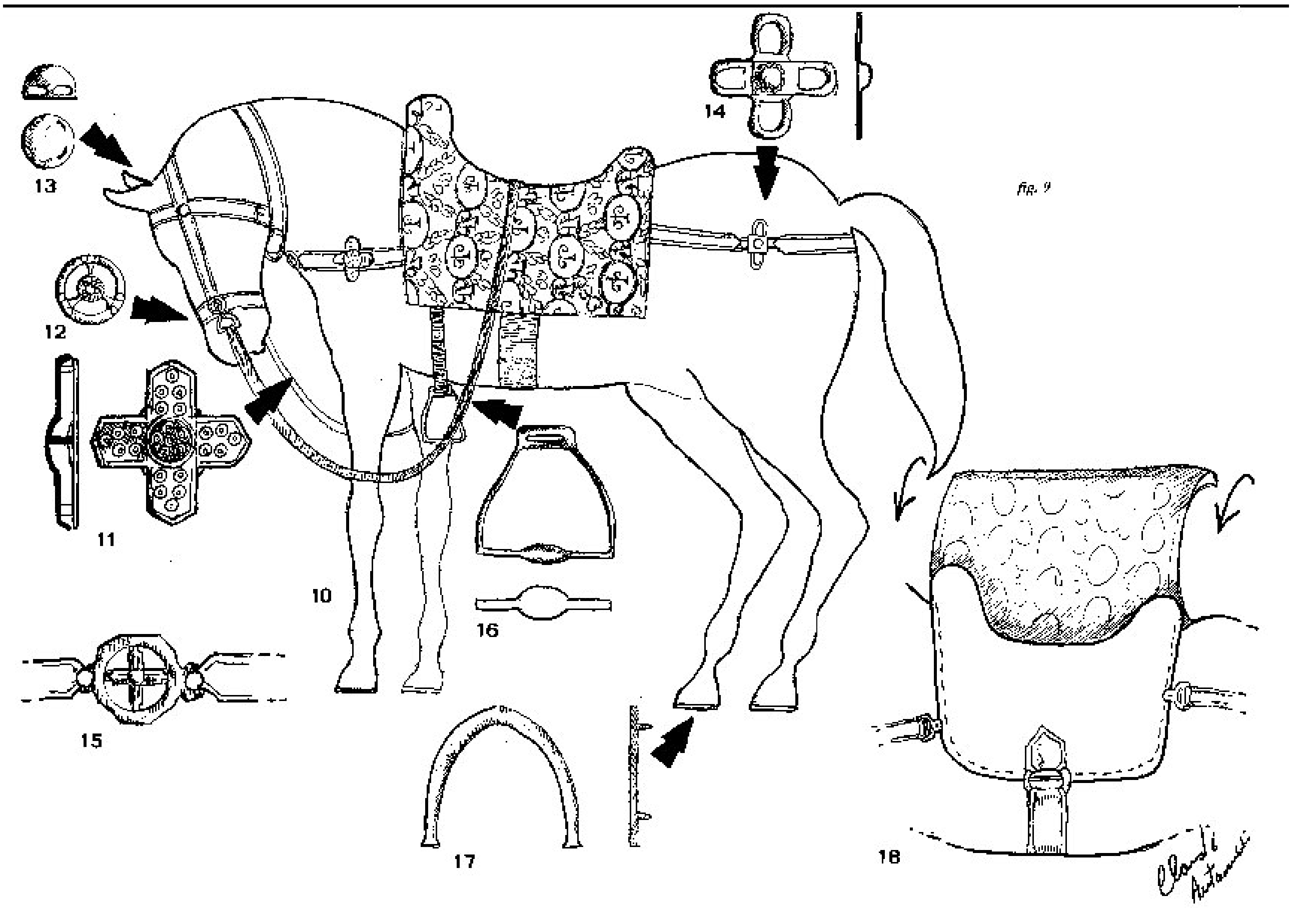


(fig. 7)

fig. 8



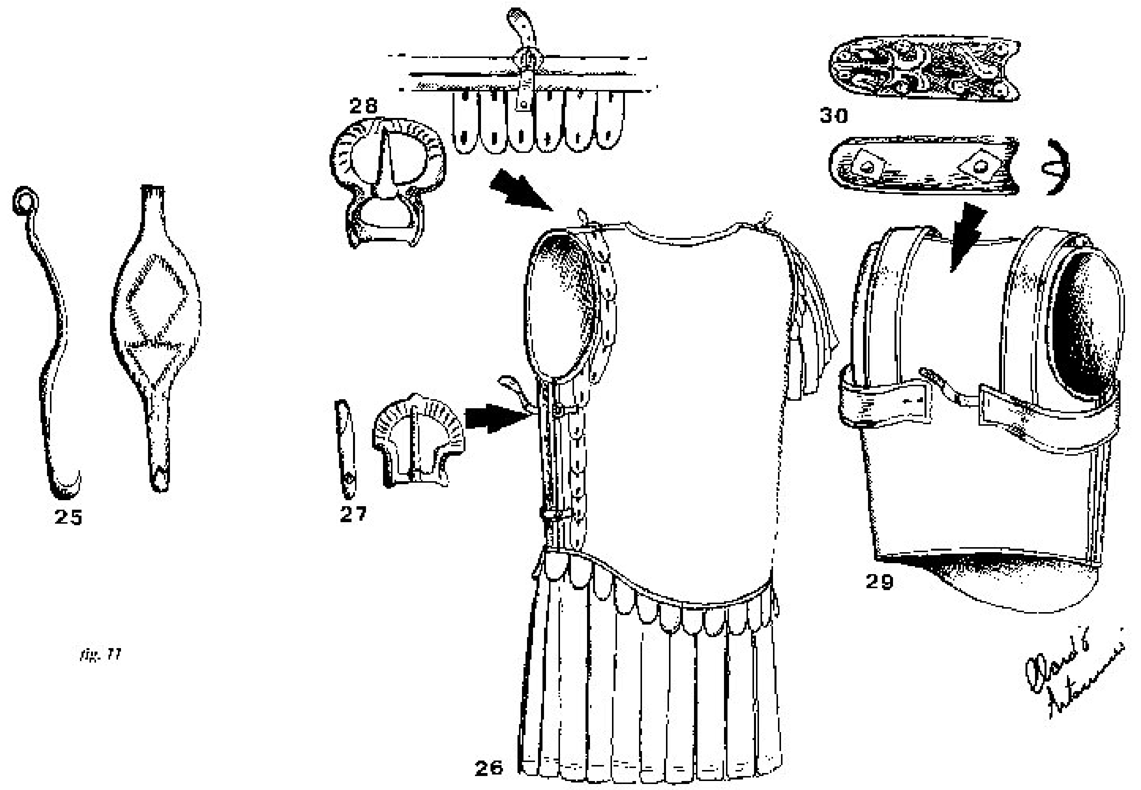
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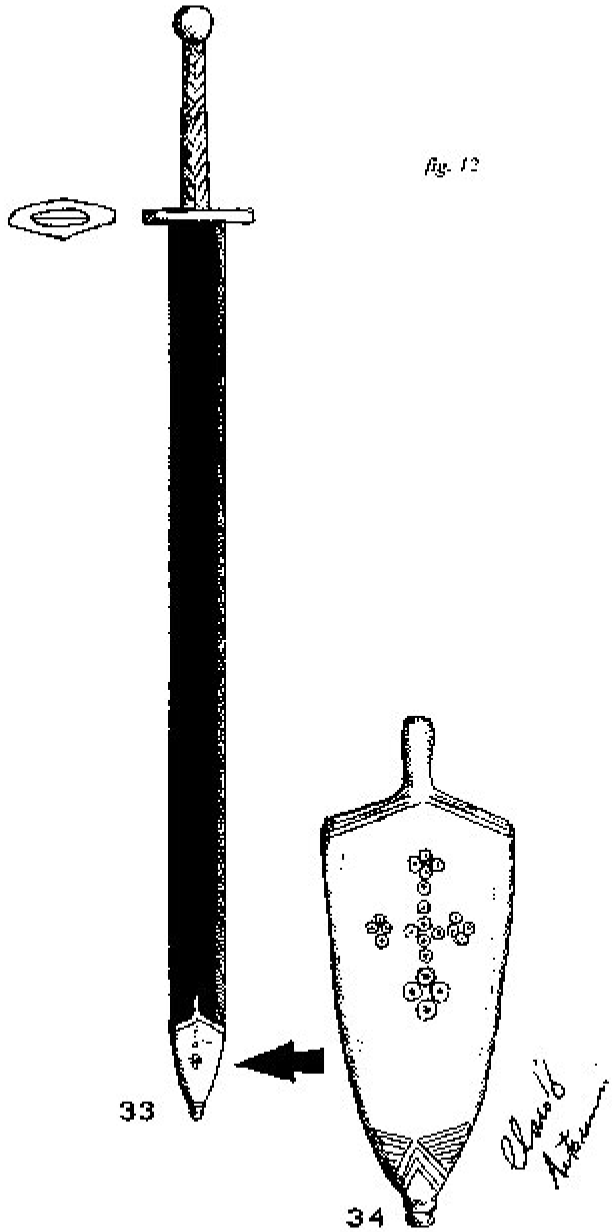
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(fig. 10)

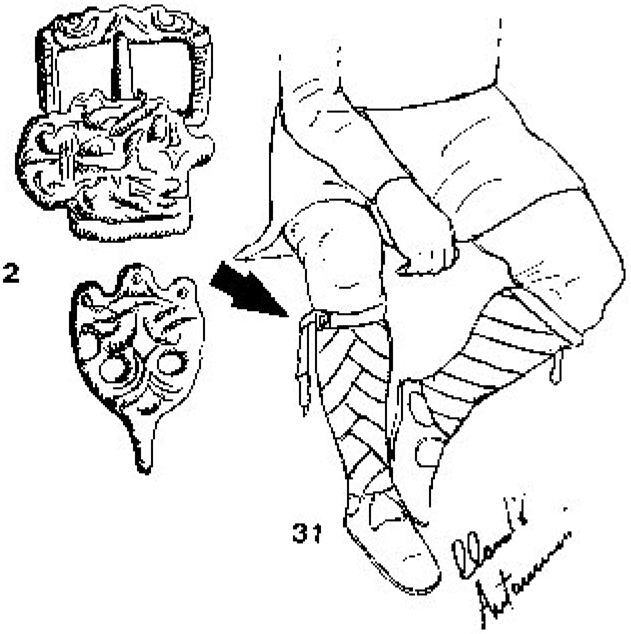


(fig. 11)



(fig. 12)

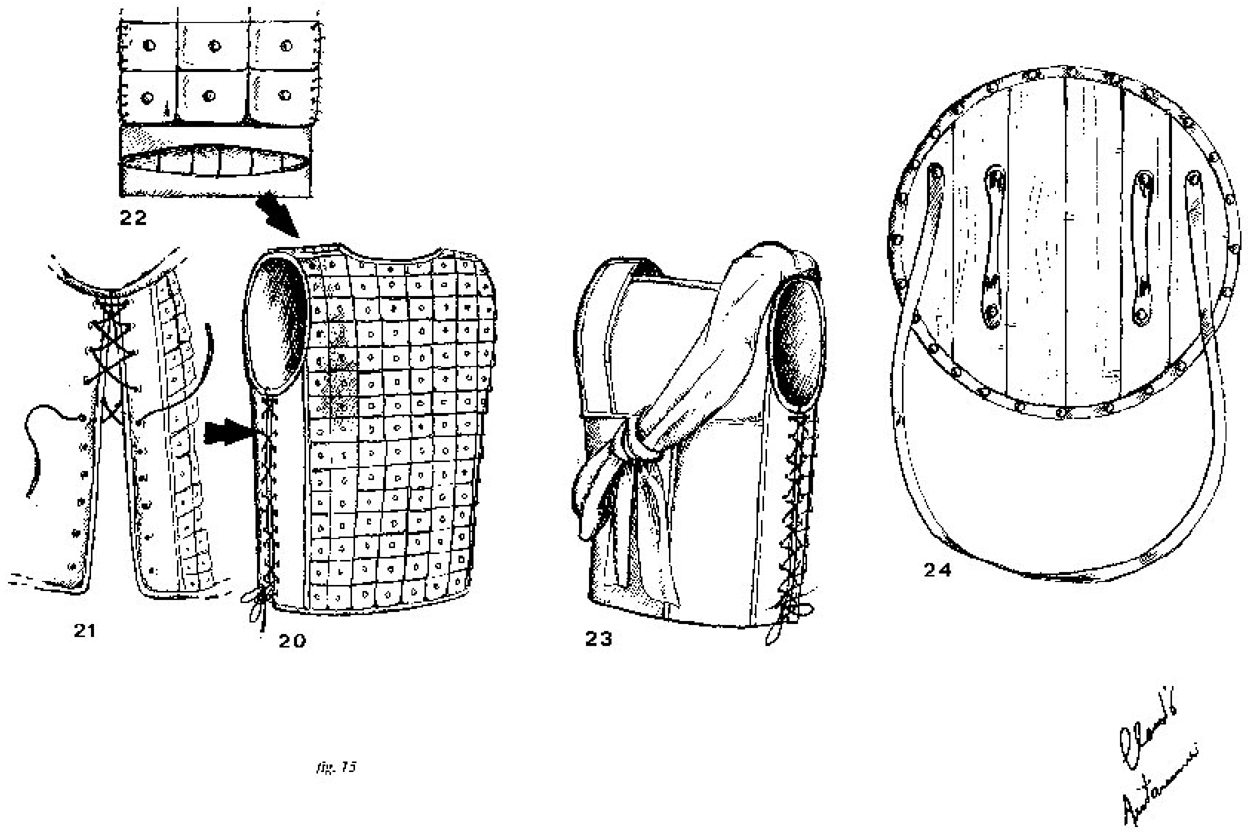
fig.13



(fig. 13)



(fig. 14)



(fig. 15)